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Government Welcomes U.S. Disarmament Move

AU0310195091 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Statement by the Government of the Republic of Albania; date and place not given]

[Text] The Government of the Republic of Albania warmly welcomes the initiative of the United States to eliminate very short-range nuclear weapons and the warm response this proposal has received from the Soviet Union. It considers this important measure as a great step toward disarmament and peace, and hopes that it will come into effect as soon as possible.

Apart from the timing of this initiative, when major changes are occurring in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and elsewhere on the road toward democracy and the establishment of market economies, it represents an important historic step that corresponds well to these changes and to the interests of the peoples of Europe and the entire world.

Senator Pell Receives Kapllani in Washington

AU0310144891 Tirana ATA in English 1303 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 3 (ATA)—At the invitation of the U.S. State Department, the foreign minister of the Republic of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, arrived on a visit to Washington on October 3. On the same day he was received in Capitol Hill by the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the U.S. Senate, Senator Claiborne Pell. At this meeting, which passed in a very friendly spirit, they talked of the present stage of the relations between the two countries and the possibilities of their development in all the fields.

Senator Pell evaluated the democratic developments in Albania as he was aware of the economic developments our country is undergoing. In this context, he said that the U.S.A. will help Albania and that the Albanian people is worthy of this aid for the road they have chosen as they are worthy of not being discouraged. They exchanged also opinions on the present developments especially in our region concentrating on the Yugoslav crisis.

The Albanian Minister Muhamet Kapllani told him of the referendum of the recent days of the Albanian population, whose preliminary results show that the will of the Albanian population is to be equal with the other peoples of Yugoslavia and pointed out that without their participation there can be no just and stable solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

Kapllani Meets Perez de Cuellar, Foreign Ministers

AU0310144591 Tirana ATA in English 0911 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 3 (ATA)—The UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar received in the seat of the United Nations the foreign minister of the Republic of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, who leads the Albanian delegation at the 46th Session of the UN General Assembly.

During the meeting, the Albanian minister valued the fruitful cooperation of our country with the United Nations and the role of Mr. Perez de Cuellar in this cooperation. He responded to the interest of the secretary general for the most recent developments of the all-round reforms in Albania and voiced his conviction in the aid and support of the UNO and its specialized agencies in this period of transition our country is passing towards full democracy.

Mr. Perez de Cuellar showed full understanding regarding the explanations of Mr. Kapllani on the Yugoslav crisis and the solution to the question of the Albanians in Yugoslavia.

The chairman of the 46th Session of the UN General Assembly, Shaykh Samir al-Shihabi of Saudi Arabia, received in his office in the UNO the Albanian foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani.

They had a long warm and friendly talk. Mr. Shihabi evaluated the democratic transformations in Albania, especially those in the field of human rights.

The Albanian minister pointed out that Albania as a tiny country considers the UNO an irreplaceable instrument to safeguard international [word indistinct].

The Albanian foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, met in the UNO seat with the foreign minister of China, Qian Qichen.

The Chinese minister valued the elevation of the level of political contacts between the two countries recently and the trade, economic and cultural cooperation. He said among others that the objective developments that have occurred in the world have reduced the hindrances in relations among the states placing them above the ideologies.

In reply to the interest of the Chinese foreign minister on the situation in our country, the Albanian minister pointed out that the political reform has progressed at fast rates whereas the economic one is lagging behind. A positive element for the progress of the all-sided reforms and the democratization in Albania is the support it is finding at the European Community, especially Italy and Germany.

Worth mentioning are the relations of cooperation with the U.S.A., whose political and economic supports claim distinction and occupy an important place.

Both parties voiced worry over the situation in Yugoslavia, wishing that the Yugoslav crisis be solved in a peaceful way.

At the meeting with the Romanian foreign minister, Adrian Nastase, they valued the importance of the contacts and meetings both ministers have had recently in the international forums including here the visit of Minister Nastase in Tirana. Regarding the situation of the crisis in Yugoslavia they voiced worry over it which is going on as a result of the violations of the armistice

and they wished it to be solved as soon as possible through peaceful means and democratic ways.

They in the meeting spoke of the importance the Balkan cooperation has for both countries and the region in general.

Crowd of 2,000 Attempts Exodus; Clashes Reported

AU0310195391 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Statement by Public Order Ministry spokesman Isuf Baca issued in Tirana on 3 October]

[Text] As the Vlore Branch of the Ministry of Public Order has reported, a crowd of about 200 persons gathered on the square in front of the port of Vlore at about 1930 on 2 October and quickly grew to about 2,000. It tried to break through the cordon round the port, seize ships, and set out on the open seas, thus starting a new exodus.

There was an immediate intervention to prevent the exodus. Not only persuasion but also force was used to reestablish order in the port at about 2400. Members of the crowd used stones, planks, and even explosives against the forces of order. As a result, one officer and one soldier were slightly injured. No accusations of injuries of any kind have been made by any member of the crowd. The forces of order have tightened measures to ensure conditions for normal work at the port.

'Mass Looting, Destruction' in Puke Villages

AU0310151991 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Report by Frrok Lecaj from Puke]

[Text] Highly unpleasant events took place in the first days of October in some former agricultural cooperatives of Puke District. As a result of delays in enforcing the Council of Ministers' decree on the distribution of the cooperatives' property, there were mass seizures and destruction of property on 30 September and 1 and 2 October in the villages of Breg, [two village names indistinct]. For instance, the barns, grain bins, bakeries, shops, schools, pharmacies, clinics, and tractor stations were totally destroyed and everything they contained was seized. The pluralist village councils and the former directors of these agricultural cooperatives stood on the sidelines and did not succeed in preventing this undignified behavior, from which the peasants themselves will be the first to suffer. When they were asked what had happened, they shrugged their shoulders, implying that anybody who could do so looted and destroyed, while the weakest went to the wall. Highly disturbing problems have therefore been created in these villages, which could lead to further and even more serious crimes endangering people's lives. As we said, there is not only mass looting and destruction of the property of the former cooperatives, which should have been distributed long ago, but other property in nurseries, shops, schools, health centers, and so forth is also being seized. The forces of public order are principally involved in normalizing the situation, putting a stop to these acts of delinquency, and ensuring that they do not spread to other villages of the district. As their chief [name indistinct] told us, by yesterday evening, Ndue Pjeter Nikolli, Fran Ndue Rushi, Ndrec Ndue Bilani, Zef Fran Nikolli, Gjergj Frroku, and Zef Nikolle Zefi had been arrested for such crimes.

Food Aid Agreement Signed With Austria

AU0310201491 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] An agreement on food aid between the Government of the Republic of Albania and the Government of the Republic of Austria was signed at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations today. The first shipment of this aid consists of veal valued at 7 million Austrian schillings, and it will be delivered before the end of 1991.

The agreement was signed for the Albanian side by Ylli Cabiri, minister of foreign economic relations, and for the Austrian side by Ambassador Kurt Spallinger.

Humanitarian Aid Distribution Starts in Northeast

AU0310195991 Tirana ATA in English 1303 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 3 (ATA)—These days the Albanian Red Cross distributed the humanitarian aids for the population of [number indistinct] districts of the northeastern zone of the country, which is being carried out in cooperation with the League of the Associations of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent. The food aids, mainly flour, oil and sugar, for a period of two months were distributed in the villages of Nderfusha, Bukmire, and Geziq of Mirdita District, to about 500 families. All measures are [word indistinct] to start the distribution of the food articles in other districts as well.

Government Creates Consumer Association

AU0310145291 Tirana ATA in English 1053 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 3 (ATA)—Based on the program and statute of the Association "The Albanian Consumer," the Ministry of Home Trade and Tourism adopted its creation.

In the conditions of the market economy and the liberalization of prices, this association has as its objectives:

1. To defend the interests of the consumer.

2. To acquaint the consumer with the new products of the home and foreign trade.

3. To demand compensation for the damage caused to the consumer by goods not in conformity with the laws.

4. To provide necessary information for the trade services, handicraft, tourism and various services our consumer is in need of.

Croatian Prime Minister Postpones Visit

AU0410103691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] The visit to Bulgaria of Franjo Greguric, Prime Minister of the Republic of Croatia, which was scheduled to take place today, was canceled at the last moment. Indeed, this was to be expected because of the deterioration of the situation in Yugoslavia.

The official Croatian delegation offered its apologies to the Bulgarian side and explained that it was unable to go ahead with the visit, Yasen Indzhev, spokesman for the Bulgarian Government announced. New dates for the visit—namely, 10-11 October—were proposed and accepted, he said.

Further Reportage on Foreign Minister at UN

Vulkov Addresses General Assembly

AU0310171091 Sofia BTA in English 1550 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] New York, October 3 (BTA)—Mr. Viktor Vulkov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, said today that Bulgaria's future association with the Council of Europe is not only recognition of the fact that the country belongs to the European family of free democratic nations but also a guarantee for the ongoing radical changes in it. Mr. Vulkov stressed that Bulgaria had already established political cooperation with NATO and the Western European Union and confirmed Bulgaria's desire to join the European Community after the necessary conditions for it are created.

Today Mr. Vulkov, who is leading the Bulgarian delegation to the 46th Session of the UN General Assembly, delivered a speech in which he set forth the main aspects of Bulgaria's new foreign policy.

Dwelling on some aspects of security, Mr. Vulkov said that it is related to the problem of compensating the countries which were most severely affected by the implementation of the international will to eliminate hotbeds of tension, as was the case with the war in the Persian Gulf. Bulgaria appreciates highly the Security Council Resolution of December 12, 1990 and the subsequent appeal of the chairman of the council, Mr. Vulkov said and expressed the hope that the recommendations would be materialized.

Further on the Bulgarian foreign minister stressed that the outbursts of violence accompanying the deep-going changes in some of Bulgaria's neighbouring countries had turned the Balkans into a region of troubles once again. Mr. Vulkov expressed his great concern over the situation in Yugoslavia which is becoming more and more complicated and threatens to turn the country into a "Balkan Lebanon." The Republic of Bulgaria stands up for solving the Yugoslav conflict through a sensible dialogue by respecting human rights, the interests of all the republics and the legitimate expression of their will for self-determination and for a free choice of their state system, Mr. Vulkov said. On the other hand, Mr. Vulkov said, the development of Balkan cooperation has reached a stage which calls for the establishment of a permanent secretariat. Mr. Vulkov voiced his support for the conclusion of an agreement on economic cooperation by the Black Sea countries.

Mr. Vulkov said that Bulgaria is following unswervingly the road leading from a totalitarian to a democratic civil society, from a centrally planned to a market economy. Mr. Vulkov emphasized that one of Bulgaria's achievements is the preservation of civil peace and order in the country which contributes to the stability in the region as well. Mr. Vulkov expressed his belief that Bulgaria's forthcoming elections would adequately reflect the changes in the country and in Eastern Europe as a whole and would further the ongoing processes in Bulgaria.

Mr. Vulkov said that Bulgaria's new foreign policy, whose goals, principles and priorities have been fundamentally changed, is aimed at the establishment of favourable conditions for the advancement of the democratic process in the country and at its incorporation into the well-established world and European democratic structures and values. Mr. Vulkov said that the primary objective of Bulgaria's independent foreign policy is ensuring form guarantees for the country's national security.

Mr. Vulkov hailed the ever more active role of the UN in maintaining international peace and security, as well as the admission of another seven countries to the organization, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia included.

Vulkov Meets Mideast Ministers

AU0310163091 Sofia BTA in English 1459 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] New York, October 3 (BTA)—Bulgaria's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Viktor Vulkov met with the minister of foreign affairs of Syria, Mr. Faruq al-Shar'. They discussed the possibilities for the development of bilateral relations and considered the need for further expansion of cooperation in different spheres. They also exchanged views on the situation in the Middle East.

Mr. Vulkov pointed out that in accordance with its new foreign political priorities, Bulgaria seeks to develop relations with its traditional partners, Syria included, on the basis of mutual benefit and market economy.

Syria's foreign minister repeated the invitation extended to Mr. Vulkov to visit Syria before the end of this year.

Mr. Vulkov also met with the minister of foreign affairs of Jordan, Mr. 'Abdallah al-Nusur. They discussed the relations between Bulgaria and Jordan and the prospects for their further development. A shared desire was expressed for the continuation of friendly relations to the

benefit of both countries, as well as for the development of promising contacts. They also considered the situation in the Middle East.

Mr. Vulkov had a meeting with the minister of foreign affairs of Tunisia, Mr. Habib Ben Yahya. The ministers exchanged views on the two countries' relations. Satisfaction with their present development was expressed and it was pointed out that there are prerequisites for their further advancement. The spheres in which cooperation can be expanded were outlined.

Mr. Vulkov and Mr. Ben Yahya paid special attention to the processes in the Middle East and to the different forms of regional cooperation. Current international problems were considered as well.

Mr. Vulkov renewed the invitation extended to the minister of foreign affairs of Tunisia to visit Bulgaria after the October 13 elections.

Zhelev Contests Legislative Retirement Bill

AU0310181691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Statement by Presidential Spokesman Valentin Stoyanov; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] In connection with the Bill on Amending the Retirement Law, which was passed by the National Assembly yesterday and which virtually establishes a system of privileges for members of the legislature and other high-ranking state functionaries elected to their offices by granting them the right of an early retirement, I am authorized to announce that the president of the Republic of Bulgaria intends to exercise his right of postponing the bill for revision in accordance with Article 101, Paragraph 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria.

The president considers it undemocratic and inadmissible that, only a few months after the elimination of privileges in our country, new privileges based on the social status of the individuals in question should be introduced. This is in contradiction with the Constitution, according to the president.

Socialists Submit Education Platform

AU0310204391 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] submitted its electoral platform on education at a news conference in Sofia today.

The basic ideas of the BSP are that education should be modern, democratic, and accessible to all. Education should be coordinated with worldwide trends. All restrictions that were imposed in the past on the basis of legal documents should be eliminated.

The basic principle of the BSP election program on education is the guarantee of free elementary, secondary, and higher education. The Socialists regard the introduction of foreign higher educational institutions in Bulgaria as an opportunity for fair competition in the educational sector.

Answering the question about cadres in the educational sphere and their replacement, the BSP representatives stated that, of the over 140,000 persons involved with educational work today, 14,000 are engaged in higher education. According to the Socialists, these are well-trained cadres, and they should be granted the opportunity to prove their professional qualifications.

Article Compares SDS, SDS Movement

AU0310210191 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Sep 91 p 5

[Article by Stefan Stamenov: "Are the Union of Democratic Forces and the Union of Democratic Forces Movement Identical?"]

[Text] The question of whether the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] is identical to the SDS Movement can be accepted by followers of the "blue cause" as an election campaign challenge. However, it was necessitated not only by the facts themselves and the logic of events but also by the political speculations with which the propagandists of the "blue idea" try to gloss over the antagonism of the contradictions by presenting them as a result of a surreptitious operation of the secret services and agents planted by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. This explanation was first put forward by Aleksandur Yordanov in the so-called Operation Silver version and elaborated upon by Mrs. Bratinova (Mutafova) in the so-called totalitarianism without borders thesis that was aimed at forming a "tame opposition" in the USSR and countries of Eastern Europe.

The version in question was fostered continuously by DEMOKRATSIYA and its satellites PODKREPA and NACHALO at the same time that an internal coup took place in the SDS. The incentive behind the coup was the power struggle between the various parties and groups. This reached its climax during the spring, when the three wings of the SDS set themselves up. The subsequent national conference of the organization only heightened the contradiction within it. Their attempt at explaining them as "tactical differences" was just another bluff aimed at hiding the antagonism and the actual split in the SDS. The truth is that Dertliev, Karakachanov, and Simeonov tried to establish a more plausible image of the opposition. The consequent organized takeover of parties and formations in the SDS during recent months was a continuation of the internal coup accomplished with notable Bolshevik consistency. The purging of a series of "red agents" and "traitors," in practice, led to the appearance of a qualitative new political formation: the SDS Movement, where the extreme right-wing forces in the blue opposition gained the upper hand.

It is significant that almost none of the founders of the SDS remained in the wing in question. In the place of the moderate parties and movements, "obedient" formations were established. In this way, an end was put to the SDS coalition, and the organization turned into a "blue party." It is paradoxical that by purging the "red agents," the new formation retained in it quite a lot of the former renegades of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], former employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and men of letters who had replaced their occupations with a passion for politics. This fact can also explain to a great extent the radicalism of this wing, and the militant neoconservatism of its leaders.

The following goals unite the SDS Movement: Antisocialism as a continuation of extreme anticommunism and a vehement hatred of the socialist idea; the exclusion of the socialist idea as an alternative for development and the reduction of it into the tendentiously profane model of "democratic socialism" of the "modern left-wing party"; and so on.

This explains the overt ambitions of the SDS Movement for a full monopoly of power, which means: election victory "at all costs," staying in power "forever," fighting for "total power," making the BSP "illegal," and so forth. In practice, this is a striving toward controlling the whole political spectrum and filling it with SDS Movement formations that would be tantamount to a new totalitarianism.

Bolshevik stereotypes are another trait of the blue right wing. The slogan "Expropriation of the expropriators (Nationalization of the property of parties and organizations)" is lifted totally from the lexicon of classical Stalinism. Not long ago, in an interview for DEMOKRATSIYA, Filip Dimitrov even defended the possibility of retribution when he specified that "these things will certainly be simpler than the tedious, dogged everyday keeping of the law (!)."

The SDS Center and the SDS Liberals: These two wings of the blue opposition opposed the radicalism and the political adventurism of the extreme right wing.

They declared themselves for realism and political tolerance, for changing the system by peaceful means.

The two formations insisted on retaining the coalition character of the SDS, pluralism of opinion, and democratic unanimity of the opposition.

The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, the Ecoglasnost Political Club, the Alternative Socialist Association-Independent, and the Democratic Party-Plovdiv participate in the SDS Center coalition.

The SDS Liberals are represented by the Federation of Clubs for Democracy, the Green Party, and the Democratic Party (Conservative Accord).

As is already well known, not long ago the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union separated from the SDS Movement, expressing its disagreement with the principle of mutual relations within the wing.

The opposition's managing team has a special place among the SDS political groupings. Despite its contradictions with the National Coordinating Council and the other formations, it tries to play a coordinating role between the different wings. For example, President Zhelev has descended to "party level" several times, with the intention of ironing out the contradictions that exist within the blue opposition. For his part, Minister Kostov was the initiator of the political campaign for seizing BSP property. Occasionally, the same effect has been achieved by a different method.

During his recent visit to Germany, the president committed himself with a statement that in a certain sense represents a unique election slogan for the opposition.

Recently, the propagandists from 134 Rakovski Street have been carrying out surreptitious speculation aimed at creating the impression that there is no difference whatsoever between the SDS and the SDS Movement. They persistently use the name SDS for their formation. The aim of this manipulation is to strengthen the conviction that the SDS Movement is the only heir to "the blue cause," that only it embodies the real striving toward democracy and change, towards a "normal society."

How far this is true, the facts speak for themselves. The antagonism in the SDS, the struggle for power, and the "ideological differences" led to its split. The logical question now is whether the champions of "the blue idea" will remain to be enticed by the demagoguery of the extreme right wing in the SDS Movement that presents itself as the only defender of democracy and the irreplaceable architect of the changes, or whether they will prefer realism and common sense. In the one case, the danger of extreme polarization in society, of potential destabilization, is present; in the other case, there is a real possibility of a greater balance of the political forces for equilibrium that will guarantee the irreversibility of the democratic process and greater stability in society.

Kostov, Pushkarov Speak on Future Government

AU0310191591 Sofia BTA in English 1745 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 3 (BTA)—Mr. Ivan Kostov, minister of finance, and Mr. Ivan Pushkarov, minister of industry, trade and services, both of them affiliated to the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), said that they would enter the new government only under certain condition: It should be a right-wing project government with clear-cut objectives and commitments, there should be no representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and it should undertake to fulfill the obligations to the international financial institutions. The government should have political room and be given political support

to advance the reform, Mr. Kostov said at today's news conference which was more than two hours long.

Mr. Kostov and Mr. Pushkarov do not regret they agreed to become members of the present cabinet. According to them, in this way they contributed to the prevention of cataclysms in the country.

Both ministers admit they have failed as far as the structural reform is concerned. Mr. Pushkarov said that the attempt at structural changes met deep-seated opposition on all levels. I do not believe that anywhere in the world a structural reform is implemented by communists and with communists, Mr. Pushkarov said.

The government was severely criticized by the opposition as well, especially by the movements and formations which split from the UDF long before the start of the election campaign. There were attempts on the part of the UDF we belong to to distance themselves from our activities, Mr. Kostov said.

The Bulgarians have not been provided with new motivation for work and no labour market has been formed, Mr. Kostov said. He believes that the majority of Bulgarians still hope just "to get away with it."

Mr. Kostov, who tops the list of UDF candidates in the town of Plovdiv (the second largest Bulgarian town) said that, unlike many other places, Plovdiv has a clear-cut political structure and political preferences. He expects that in Plovdiv the UDF will poll more votes than in the other parts of the country, but so will some other parties which are unlikely to win many votes anywhere else.

Mr. Pushkarov, who tops the UDF list in the town of Mikhaylovgrad, said that society has restructured itself which will favour the UDF.

Monarchist Confederation Runs in Elections

AU0310202491 Sofia BTA in English 1943 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 3 (BTA)—The Kingdom of Bulgaria Confederation will run on a separate ticket in the forthcoming elections, it was said at a press conference today.

The confederation unites pro-monarchist organizations and hopes to overcome the 4 percent barrier, although its electorate is no more than 2 percent, as the results of public opinion polls have shown.

"If the confederation makes its way to parliament, its M.P.'s will try to establish a monarchist lobby and will strive for the restoration of the monarchist institution," Mr. Manol Zhurnalov, co-chairman of the confederation, said.

If the next parliament is truly democratic, the first thing it should do is cancel the referendum of 1946 (through which Bulgaria was declared a republic). Then a sensible dialogue should be established between the political forces and a democratic referendum should be scheduled to decide the form of government in Bulgaria.

The confederation sympathizes with the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) but will not support an opposition party or coalition which opposes the monarchist institution. The confederation is ready to form a coalition government with any of the political forces with the exception of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP).

Advance Notice of Public Election Events Urged

AU0310202691 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] We have received an announcement from the Press Center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The announcement states that the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs urges the political forces, social organizations, and independent candidates running for the National Assembly elections to give advance notice to the authorities about their election rallies and other events so that the necessary police protection may be provided and undesirable incidents may be avoided.

Kostov Rejects Prediction of Higher Inflation

AU0310212591 Sofia BTA in English 1941 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 3 (BTA)—Today the Minister of Finance, Mr. Ivan Kostov, denied the statement recently made by Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov who said that an inflation bomb should be expected.

There is no inflation bomb, Mr. Kostov pointed out but added that the Bulgarians are yet to face the shock of unemployment.

In the summer months there was no further drop of economic performance. According to the minister of finance, there were even signs of revival. His opinion will perhaps be confirmed by the monthly report of the Central Statistical Board which is to appear on the eve of the elections.

The statistical data do not include agriculture and the private business sector. This year Bulgaria's agricultural produce is good and private business is also in full swing, Mr. Kostov pointed out. "We have good reasons to believe that there would be no further decline and the country's economy will head to the typical late-autumn upsurge," he said.

Dienstbier, Pankin Sign Cooperation Treaty

LD0310184391 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Excerpts] The culmination of the visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Pankin was his meeting with President Vaclav Havel today, the signing of the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty on good- neighborliness, friendly relations, and cooperation, and the news conference that ended in Cernin Palace in Prague a short while ago. Petr Voldan is here live from Cernin Palace with a detailed report:

[Voldan] Good evening. The signatures of diplomatic chiefs Jiri Dienstbier and Boris Pankin have already been placed at the end of the text of the new treaty, or rather at the end of each page of the document, which has been initialed and which is still subject to being ratified by the legislatures and signed by the presidents of the two countries.

The document, comprised of 27 articles, is written in a new language of present-day diplomacy, and the spirit of the Helsinki process in it is noticeable. The agreement—which was surrounded by many arguments before the unsuccessful putsch, because the Soviet side insisted on formulations that would enable it to interfere in the events in our country—has acquired a new impetus precisely because the putsch in Moscow had been surpressed. This was confirmed, for example, by Czechoslovak Ambassador to Moscow Rudolf Slansky. [passage omitted]

This was the reply to my question concerning the main obstacle hampering the treaty before the putsch, given to me by Minister Dienstbier shortly after the treaty was initialed:

[Begin Dienstbier recording] The main obstacle was the Soviet side's request that we agree not to enter hostile alliances. But we know how these matters were interpreted in the past, and on the basis of Paris Charter—which in fact abolished hostile relations in Europe and which said that there are no hostile relations—we rejected using this language of the Cold War. The putsch marked the end of this language. When I was in Moscow at the Conference on the Human Dimension, both Minister Pankin—who had held the office for only several days then—and Mikhail Gorbachev told me immediately that the treaty could now be concluded, because the obstacles they kept creating and that concerned development of the structure of the Army and other (?corps) have gone under with their protagonists. [end recording]

[Voldan] I point out that Boris Pankin accompanied the signing of the new treaty, which took place in the Mirror Hall of the Cernin Palace, with a verbal statement from which I quote: This has once and forever put an end, on the political level, to the totalitarian past, including the use of force against Czechoslovakia in August 1968. That action was an interference in the internal affairs of this state, incompatible with the norms of relations between sovereign states. This had long-term negative consequences for the development of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and had a negative impact on the international situation.

Today, in the Cernin Palace, the two ministers also signed three other documents—an agreement on visa-free travel for citizens of the two countries; an agreement on consultations between the ministries; and an agreement on the plan of cultural, scientific, and educational cooperation. At a news conference that followed, they paid attention to the issues of relations. As far as the preparation of a visit and signing of the agreement is concerned, Boris Pankin said among other things:

[Begin Pankin recording in Russian fading to Czech translation] I am convinced that the day when our presidents will meet to sign the initialed treaty is not far away. [end recording]

[Voldan] The two ministers spoke about economic cooperation, about the Soviet Union's preparedness to open, for instance, its archives for us with the documents from 1968.

Boris Pankin confirmed that the Soviet Union would reply to the American disarmament initiative in the near future, and that he met in the United States—whence he arrived in our country—representatives of the Afghan opposition. In his view, the world is now wiser and is prepared to tackle problems through talks.

More detailed positions on some issues of relations, as well as Soviet foreign policy, were expressed by Boris Pankin in an interview given to Czechoslovak federal radio, which we are going to broadcast tomorrow—the last day of the visit by the Soviet foreign minister, which will conclude with a trip to Slovakia.

No Agreement Reached on Russian Oil Deliveries

AU0210195791 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Sep 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Engineer Miroslav Cerny, deputy director of the Foreign Economic Policy department at the CSFR Ministry of Economy, by Jozef Prouza; place and date not given: "Interest in Our Goods Continues; First Economic Talks With the Russian Federation After the Coup Attempt"]

[Excerpts] The CSFR and the Russian federation held talks at the level of deputy ministers last week. The Russian delegation was led by Yuriy Olkhovikov, deputy minister of economy of the Russian federation. We asked Miroslav Cerny, deputy director of the Foreign Economic Policy department at the Federal Ministry of Economy, about the preliminary agreements reached:

[Prouza] As is known, the Soviet scene has undergone dramatic changes since the attempted coup. Have previous agreements been brought into question?

[Cerny] We were rather anxious whether the conclusions reached during Minister Vladimir Dlouhy's talks with representatives of the Russian federation in July would be confirmed. First and foremost, the Russian side confirmed all previous agreements and expressed its interest in increasing mutual trade as soon as possible. In 1990, the Russian federation accounted for 78 percent of the total trade exchange between Czechoslovak and Soviet partners. Our aim is to bring mutual trade to life again, although we assume that the level of 1990 will not be reached. [passage omitted]

The Russian side reacted positively to Czechoslovak demands concerning basic fuels, energy, and raw material resources, with the exception of crude oil.

[Prouza] Yet crude oil is our number one strategic raw material, especially in view of the current threat to imports via the Adria pipeline.

[Cerny] Our counterparts promised to work out this issue internally and to inform us at the forthcoming talks, which are expected to be held in the second half of October, about the scale and conditions of crude oil deliveries. We asked the Russian side to positively assess our demand, expressed previously, that crude oil deliveries be raised over and above the agreed level.

[Prouza] What is the situation of our exports to the Russian federation in 1992?

[Cerny] Czechoslovak deliveries worth about $1 billion have been preliminarily confirmed, of which machinery and equipment represent about 50 percent. We expect this volume to increase further at the upcoming talks, because the Russian side has expressed an interest in food and consumer goods deliveries, in view of the present situation in Russia. It can be said that, on aggregate, we have reached, in the present stage of negotiations, preliminary agreement on $2.5 billion worth of mutual trade turnover (without crude oil). [passage omitted]

The overall concept of this trade is based on the premise that Russian exports will exceed our deliveries, with the "surplus" being used to pay for the debts that the Russian federation will be assigned as a proportion of the aggregate Soviet debt. [passage omitted]

Beregovoy: Obstacles to Association With EC Gone

AU0310141791 Prague CTK in English 1927 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Paris Sept 30 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier's talks today with the French Minister of State for Economy, Finance and Budget, Pierre Beregovoy, ended in basic agreement on the issues of aid to the Soviet Union and the association of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland with the European Community (EC).

While France's September 6 veto of an increase on meat imports from these three countries to the EC "was a great disappointment for us and our neighbors", Dienstbier said, Beregovoy assured him that the main obstacles to the association accords have since been removed.

The two ministers noted the similarity between Dienstbier's "triangular plan" and the French proposal for a new Marshall plan for the Soviet Union. In both cases, Western financial aid would be used to purchase Czechoslovak, Hungarian and Polish goods for the Soviet market.

Dienstbier suggested dividing the aid into two stages: the first would aim at helping the Soviet population get through the coming winter, and the second would consist of long-term bilateral and multilateral projects.

Economic aid from the West to the Soviet Union and the former East bloc has a security aspect as well, Dienstbier said, as the crisis in the region's economy could lead to dangerous political reversals.

Tomorrow at the Elysee Palace, Dienstbier will take part along with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel in the signing of a Czechoslovak-French treaty on understanding and friendship.

Slovak Chairman Miklosko Defends Visit to Poland

LD0310083391 Prague CSTK in English 2137 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw Oct 1 (CSTK)—Slovak parliament chairman Frantisek Miklosko, heading a Slovak parliamentary delegation on a three-day official visit to Poland since yesterday, told CSTK today the only aim of the visit is to strengthen regional cooperation.

He was commenting on the reports of Polish and Soviet news agencies, PAP and TASS, that he suggested to change the "Czechoslovakia-Hungary-Poland" triangle into a tetragon with Slovakia as its full member.

Asked whether the Slovak role within the troika will be officially formulated, Miklosko said Slovakia wants to develop regional contacts within the framework of power-sharing between the Czech and Slovak republics on the one hand and the federation on the other, which, he added, is fully legitimate.

"We want to develop regional ties ...just as the Czech Republic does with Bavaria", Miklosko said. He rejected suggestions that the visit is taking place "behind the backs of Prague".

Today, the Slovak parliament delegation met with Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Iwo Byczewski, and representatives of Polish political parties.

Piotr Nowina-Konopka, general secretary of the Democratic Union, the strongest party formed out of the former "Solidarity" trade union, said that regardless of Czechoslovakia's future state setup, Poland is interested in good neighborly relations.

Havel Meets Rail Workers, Nezval To Stay

AU0310125691 Prague CTK in English 1829 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Prague Sept 30 (CTK)—Representatives of railway engine-drivers today told Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel they have dropped their demand for the resignation of Czechoslovak Transport Minister Jiri Nezval.

The engine-drivers also decided to reduce their three-hour strike planned for tomorrow to one hour.

But members of the Presidium of the Engine-Drivers Federation and the Engine-Drivers Council told Havel they are sticking to their demands for improvements in the transport sector and the more effective use of transport capacity.

Havel expressed understanding for their demands and promised to take them up with Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa.

[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 1 October on pages 1 and 2 publishes a report on a news conference at which Pavel Hoffmann, CSFR Minister for Strategic Planning, told journalists that "government representatives promised to support the demand for an overall 8 percent indexation of wages paid to employees of the Czechoslovak Railroads." Similarly, Hoffmann says, the request that some employees should be allowed to retire early has a government support. On the other hand, the demand that a lay-off compensation be increased to the amount of annual wages met with unanimous disapproval.]

One-Hour Strike Called

AU0310140191 Prague CSTK in English 1337 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 1 (CSTK)— 656 trains were delayed by a total of 483 hours in a one-hour strike called today by the Czechoslovak Engine Drivers Federation to publicize its demands, including greater efficiency in the railway transport system and the sacking of former communist managers.

"The strike proceeded in a cultured and cultivated fashion, all the agreed rules were kept to, all the local trains were stopped in the stations and in no instance was there any threat to security," Jan Zenkl, director of the Transport Division and a member of the crisis staff of the Czechoslovak Transport Company's Central Management, told CSTK.

Originally, the strike was planned for three hours and included a demand for the resignation of Federal Transport Minister Jiri Nezval. But members of the federation's Council yesterday told President Vaclav Havel they were cutting back the strike to just one hour and not insisting on Nezval's replacement.

Representatives of the Engine Drivers Federation said participation in the strike varied from region to region, with no strike at all called in some towns and 100 percent taking part in the action in others.

Milan Varna of the federation's Council said he was satisfied that there were no serious complications during the action.

Klaus, Hoffmann Appointed Vice Prime Ministers

LD0310203391 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] As of today, Vaclav Klaus and Pavel Hoffmann are new federal vice prime ministers. President Vaclav Havel entrusted the execution of these two posts to the two members of the federal cabinet. Vaclav Klaus retains the post of finance minister, while Pavel Hoffmann was recalled from the post of planning minister.

The Federal Government approved treaties on good neighborliness and friendly cooperation with three states: the USSR, Germany and Poland. As to the treaty with Germany, the government noted that recognition of legal continuity of the existence of the Czechoslovak state as of 1918 does question the actual birth of the Slovak state. From the point of view of international law, the Czechoslovak state has not ceased to exist as a subject of international law by virtue of the Slovak state and the declaration of the protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia.

The government today also approved draft changes to the Czechoslovak customs tarriff list. Its aim is to increase protection in sensitive household products, to encourage competition, and to make things disadvantageous for monopoly producers.

Assembly Chambers Reject No Confidence Vote

LD0410090691 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 0300 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Excerpts] The 17th joint session of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of the People and the Chamber of the Nations continued in Prague yesterday. [passage omitted] At their separate sessions in the evening, neither of the Federal Assembly Chambers accepted the proposal for a vote of no confidence in Jan Langos, federal minister of interior, and Lubos Dobrovsky, federal minister of defense

Klaus Reviews Budget Performance in Assembly

AU0110084291 Prague CTK in English 1832 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] Prague Sep 27 (CTK)—The latest estimates indicate expectations of an overall budget surplus of 8,000 million crowns (270 million USD) for Czechoslovakia at

the end of 1991 may have been overly optimistic, as a deficit of up to 2,000 million crowns (66 million USD) is possible.

At a review of the federal and republic budgets in today's joint session of the Federal Assembly (parliament), Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus said that short-term predictions were difficult to make. He also noted that local budgets are still showing a significant surplus.

The combined budgets of the Czechoslovak Federation and the Czech and Slovak Republics showed a 17,700 million crown (590 million USD) surplus in the first half of 1991, or 6,700 million crowns (223 million USD) greater than anticipated, Klaus reported to the assembly.

But he warned against overestimating the positive figures up to this point, as budget revenues in the first half of this year increased mainly because of large contributions from state-owned enterprises, whose profits went up with the price liberalization at the beginning of the year.

Since May, profits and income from turnover tax have leveled off and there has been pressure to boost expenditures in order to stimulate consumer demand, Klaus said. By the end of August, the overall surplus had shrunk to 10,000 million crowns (333 million USD).

The joint rapporteurs of the federal parliament's two houses told the Assembly they had attached a recommendation to the budget report requesting the cabinet to submit an analysis of economic progress in the first half of 1991 and a preview for the year 1992.

They also called for a revision of the law on federal budget rules to increase the parliament's power to monitor the federal budget.

Evaluating economic evolution in Czechoslovakia in the first half of 1991, Klaus said it was influenced by many foreign factors such as the dissolution of the former socialist trade bloc, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), the worsening economic crisis in the Soviet Union and the declining economies of the Western industrial powers.

On the domestic front, Klaus cited Czechoslovakia's transition to a market economy, including the liberalization of prices and foreign trade, and the decision to make the crown an internally convertible currency.

Production in industry and construction dropped 14 and 27 percent from July 1990 to July 1991, and unemployment hit 300,000 in a total population of 15.6 million. On the other hand, Czechoslovakia's gross debt amounted to 8,800 million dollars, with just 340 million dollars' of debt in the first six months of this year.

Slovak Privatization Minister on Coupon Problems

AU0310161691 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 24 Sep 91 p 12

[Interview with Ivan Miklos, Slovak Republic Minister for the Administration of National Property and Privatization, by an unidentified HOSPODARSKE NOVINY correspondent; place and date not given: "The Property Will Suffice"]

[Text] The authors and supporters of the coupon privatization plan have expressed their concerns over the adequacy of the property the enterprises and organizations prepared for privatization. Therefore, we consulted Ivan Miklos, Slovak Republic minister for the Administration of National Property and Privatization, who is in charge of this sector, and asked him several questions that should help to provide a general picture of the current state of affairs.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Will there be enough property in Slovakia for coupon privatization?

[Miklos] According to the preliminary list of the privatized enterprises, the volume of property intended for the first wave of coupon privatization amounts to 79 billion korunas. So, if the issue is viewed from the standpoint of the resolution of the Financial Council, which specified that property valued at no less than 70 billion korunas must be privatized here, everything seems to be in order. We expect that there will be some changes in the list, and the structure might be slightly altered. In the end, there might be even more property to be privatized. The insolvent enterprises will be removed from the list, as will those in financial straits. On the other hand, some enterprises will be added. We also know that in some enterprises, where a certain extent of coupon privatization was expected, the actual extent will be larger.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] You mentioned a tight situation. What does that mean?

[Miklos] I used this term in connection with the enterprises that would go belly-up without a quick foreign investment shot in the arm. I believe that they are not suitable for coupon privatization.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] What should be done with them?

[Miklos] The best approach would be to offer them for sale in their entirety at the highest price possible. This price, however, would be only relatively high in most cases. Another possibility is a liquidation. It is also, in a way, a sale. We still must look for a buyer.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Can one deduce from the selection and location of the enterprises and sectors their attitude toward coupon privatization?

[Miklos] I am not certain whether one can draw a definite conclusion. Nevertheless, I have a feeling that the coupon privatization, particularly if it is to be used as the main privatization method, is more popular in the less important enterprises. I expect that the decision of the East Slovak Iron Works Company in Kosice could change this. This whole enterprise—the largest in Slovakia and currently doing well—is offered for sale in the coupon privatization.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Which of the privatization methods do you, personally, prefer?

[Miklos] I do not have a favorite. When evaluating the methods, we should not forget our goal. We want to privatize as much of the property as we can, as fast as we can. The process of change in ownership relations is a necessary condition for other changes, particularly in structure and effectiveness. The endeavor to eliminate all negative phenomena that might be linked to the privatization is also important, i.e., we must, as much as possible, prevent subjective decisionmaking. Therefore, if necessary, we must employ the non-standard methods as well.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Even to the point of dominancy?

[Miklos] Of course, we prefer, purely for reasons of time, the traditional, standard methods everywhere, where their application is proposed in the privatization project. The problem is, however, that in most cases, the enterprises do not have any specific plan for the actual application of these methods. The standard methods are rather complex and often time-consuming. This results in emphasizing the coupon method of privatization, which involves certain risks but also eliminates the negative points connected with the mass application of the standard methods—particularly when implemented by the government and government officials. It is obvious that we must seek the right level of application for each individual method.

Among the standard methods, priority will be given to those that limit the possibility of subjective influence and lead to the market price. This concerns also the competition-based methods of the sale and setting the price.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Is the aversion by some of the experts to the coupon privatization caused by its frequently being described as the main method of privatization and having been probably the most publicized?

[Miklos] It is like a circle. The aversion to the coupon method brings about the need to advertise it. This in turn can irritate some people and.... Moreover, the coupon privatization must be talked about a lot because it involves many people. They need to know a lot about it. It is possible to draw a conclusion from this that it is the main method. It certainly is not so. All the methods are equal. Sometimes, it seems strange to me. The individual sectors assumed, if not a negative, then at least a reserved stand regarding the coupon privatization. On the other hand, they do very little, if anything, to apply the standard methods. If we take it to its logical end, they behave as if everything should remain in state ownership. That is simply not acceptable. All the critics of the coupon privatization, who are directly involved in the process, should begin by saying what they have done for the application of the standard methods. The coupon privatization will be actually a way out for many people as it will eliminate the consequences of their inadequate activity.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] How will you decide in the instances when two projects will arrive at the ministry, one of them favoring the coupon method, while the other one prefers the standard methods? Who will get priority?

[Miklos] We have even made a public announcement that projects applying the standard methods will be preferred. Of course, while not being disadvantaged, such a project must satisfy all other conditions.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] How do you feel about the proposals to use leasing in the privatization process?

[Miklos] I am not enthusiastic about leasing. It is a rental with a subsequent transfer of ownership. There are numerous legal and economic arguments questioning leasing in privatization. The most important among the legal ones is that the laws on privatization clearly specify only the very narrow parameters within which leasing may be used. There are no criteria for selection of the lessees. Any assessment of entrepreneurial ability and prospects directly calls for subjectivism.

One-Third of State Companies Privatized by Coupons

AU0310125391 Prague CTK in English 1915 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Prague Sept 30 (CTK)—37.6 percent of the state enterprises in the Czech Republic, with a total value of 194,000 million korunas ($6,466 million), will be sold off in the first round of large privatization by the coupon method, the Czech minister for the administration and privatization of national property, Tomas Jezek, told a press conference today.

The coupon, or voucher, method will allow Czechoslovak citizens to purchase shares in state-owned companies, instead of selling enterprises to individual owners.

Deputy privatization minister Jan Herda also told reporters that as of September 30, 18,951 shops and services had been approved for small-scale privatization and 10,002 sold for a total of 9,660 million korunas ($322 million)—1,518 of them by Dutch auction. [passage omitted]

Havel Discusses Role in Political Situation

AU0210191191 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 28 Sep 91 p 1

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Marcela Pechackova in the "Today" column; place and date not given]

[Text] [Pechackova] You said Tuesday in the Federal Assembly that the situation in our country has never been so serious and critical since the democratic revolution. To what extent is the head of state guilty of causing this situation?

[Havel] I definitely do not feel that I am the main culprit. However, I must bear a certain moral responsibility for today's situation. This is why I said in the Assembly that if we do not succeed in reaching a reasonable agreement about the constitutional setup, I will draw the appropriate conclusions for myself. At the moment, I am unable to say specifically what I did wrong, despite the fact that I had an opportunity to do things better. Yet, I am beginning to think about it intensively. I will be open about any conclusion I reach.

Kucerak Envisages Slovak Coalition Split

AU0210194791 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Slovak 1 Oct 91 p 12

["(hri)"-signed report: "An Endangered Coalition"]

[Text] Bratislava—"Elements oriented toward an independent state have appeared within the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] recently," stated Jozef Kucerak, Public Against Violence [VPN] movement chairman. He cited as an example of this the recent KDH Council resolution containing a demand for Slovakia's international subjectivity and for the adoption of a Slovak constitution first of all. "If KDH policy were to continue in this direction, it would endanger coalition cooperation, and the Christian Democrats would bear the responsibility for this...."

The VPN chairman also stated that eight or 10 VPN ministers would leave the Slovak Government in this case. He quoted from the coalition agreement in which the coalition partners undertook to strive for a just federation. The VPN considers the CSFR's continuity to be legally clear-cut, because the Slovak state (whose factual existence is not questioned by the movement) was established in an unconstitutional manner. J. Kucerak described the policy of the "nationalist bloc" (the Slovak National Party, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], and the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL]) as anti-national. He cited their rejection in the Federal Assembly of a market regulation fund, which would also have served to assist Slovak agriculturists, as evidence of this. E. Valko (a Federal Assembly deputy) also stated that it is mainly the HZDS and SDL who are against the screenings law in the Federal Assembly.

The VPN considers a referendum to be the only constitutional method of separating the CSFR. If a referendum were only held in Slovakia, a possible question could be: "Do you want Slovakia's secession from the CSFR?" In the event that a federal referendum is held, J. Kucerak has formulated the following acceptable question: "Are you in favor of a joint state of two equal sovereign republics based on a treaty between the Slovak National Council and the Czech National Council?"

Radioactive Leak at Bohunice Nuclear Plant Viewed

AU0110115691 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 25 Sep 91 p 3

[Unattributed report: "'Exceeding the Limit'"]

[Text] Bratislava—At the end of last week, the radioactivity concentration limit in the type A-1 Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear plant waste water was exceeded for a short period of time. Waste water measured at the nuclear plant waste water control station was found to be in the range of 37 becquerels per liter (permissible limit) to 1,400 becquerels per liter. The overall radioactivity released into the environment reached 4,620,000 becquerels (becquerel is a unit of radioactivity of material in which one nucleus disintegrates per second). It is assumed that the cause was a water leakage in the fire-protection pipes in the area of the storage tanks located in the controlled zone of the type A-1 nuclear plant. Water leaked into the soil and loosened contaminated dirt in this area. The dirt got into the A-1 system of channels and, subsequently, into the environment. The leak represents 0.25 percent of the overall yearly limit imposed on type A-1 nuclear plants. At present, the situation is under control.

Poll: 20 Percent of Slovaks Favor Separate Army

AU0410120391 Prague CSTK in English 1312 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 1 (CSTK)— About one fourth of the population of Czechoslovakia think that the collapse of the "world socialist system" means there is no longer a threat of world war.

According to a preliminary report on a poll, conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research and the Czechoslovak Army Institute for Social Research among 1,954 Czechs and Slovaks last June, 48 percent of the polled (72 percent in 1980) think "there is a threat of world war but it can be prevented." 35 percent (nine percent in 1980) believe "there is no danger of world war" and seven percent (11 percent in 1980) say "there is a threat of war and it cannot be prevented."

Fourteen percent of Czechs and Slovaks feel Czechoslovakia is threatened militarily by other states, 66 percent of the respondents do not have this feeling. Most respondents consider East European states (60 percent the Soviet

Union) to be the greatest threat, 25 percent Western states, mainly Germany and the United States, and six percent developing countries.

Ten percent of Czechoslovakia's population "fully agree" that united Germany poses a threat to peace in Europe, 26 percent "rather agree," 38 percent "rather disagree," and 15 percent "do not agree at all." A possible threat to European peace from Germany is more frequently rejected by Czechs than Slovaks but Czechs more often fear developments in the Soviet Union.

Twelve percent of those surveyed "fully agree" that "a success of the reforms in the Soviet Union is not certain and a return of cold war is still possible." 43 percent of Czechs and Slovaks "rather agree," 25 percent "rather disagree," and four percent "do not agree at all."

Seven percent of respondents believe that the Czechoslovak Army enjoys support and confidence of the people (against 48 percent in 1980, 25 percent in 1987, and 10 percent in 1990). 10 percent of respondents said that the Army does not enjoy popular support (against five percent in 1987 and seven percent in 1990). This shows that the number of people who believe that the Czechoslovak Army enjoys popular support is declining, the report says.

The preparedness of the Czechoslovak Army for the country's defense is more favorably assessed in the Slovak Republic. 43 percent of Czechs and 56 percent of Slovaks consider the Army equipment modern. 65 percent of the Czech and 49 percent of the Slovak population describe army discipline as bad.

67 percent of the population of Czechoslovakia, 77 percent of the Czech, and 44 percent of the Slovak Republic prefer a single Federal Army. 16 percent of Czechoslovak, 11 percent of Czech, and 27 percent of Slovak respondents call for the creation of two armies under a common federal command. 8 percent of Czechoslovak citizens, 3 percent of Czechs and 20 percent of Slovaks want republic armies without any interference of the federation.

Most Czechoslovak citizens do not support professionalization of the Army. 20 percent prefer a small, fully professional army. 3 percent believe that Czechoslovakia should have no army.

Assembly's Security Committee Discusses SFRY

LD0310213191 Budapest MTI in English 2014 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 3 (MTI)—The National Security Committee of parliament held a closed session on Thursday with Minister of Justice Istvan Balsai presenting a report. After the session, Balsai told MTI that, for reasons of secrecy, he can only disclose that, with special regard to the crisis in Yugoslavia, the number of requests for applying special secret service means and methods has increased over the past few months. The licences are issued for the offices concerned and the police in compliance with the law.

Brigadier Generals Janos Kovacs, head of the Military Intelligence Office, and Karoly Gyaraki, head of the Military Security Office, informed the committee on the effects of the civil war in Yugoslavia on Hungary's security. Gyaraki told MTI that, in keeping with the changes in the international and domestic policy situation, the military intelligence services of some foreign powers were making secret service endeavours of various intensity towards the Hungarian Army. Over the past few months, the Hungarian authorities explored a number of suspicious circumstances and contacts which are being examined, Gyaraki said.

Authorities Introduce Stricter Border Regulations

LD0410021991 Budapest MTI in English 1951 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 3 (MTI)—Tomorrow the Hungarian authorities are to introduce stricter rules concerning the entry of foreign citizens into the country, the Ministry of Home Affairs said.

Similarly to the European practice, the foreigners whose attitude endangers public order, public health or public morals, or have no valid documents, tickets and cash required for returning home, and the transit passengers who lack the documents required by the country of destination, will not be allowed to enter Hungary.

The measure followed a major increase in the number of foreigners who stay in Hungary legally but have no accommodation and sufficient cash, and their way of life and acts hurt or endanger the interests of the Republic of Hungary.

Increased Border Congestion Reported

LD0410134791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Excerpts] It was expected that the stricter measures introduced yesterday would cause congestion, particularly at the eastern borders. Eva Cseh reports: [Cseh] At the Romanian side, trucks, busses, cars, and other vehicles are literally blocking both lanes. A total jam occurred on the other side of the border. The queue of waiting cars stretches for 7 kms and it is almost impossible to get about even on foot among the cars. [passage omitted]

Since midnight, some 85

of the estimated 2,500 visitors heading for the Bekescsaba market have had to head back to Romania at Gyulavari. [passage omitted] I learned from officials of the Gyula border crossing station that the Romanian border guards reacted positively to the stricter measures; for example, they inform those wishing to travel to Hungary about the changed situation.

Reportage on Antall's U.S. Visit, UN Speech

MTI Reports UN Speech

LD0210151891 Budapest MTI in English 1647 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Text] New York, October 1 (MTI)—"One of the lessons of our century is that generations suffered for the inability to act against Bolshevik and Nazi dictatorships," Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said in his speech to the United Nations General Assembly.

The Hungarian prime minister delivered the speech on Tuesday, and stressed Hungary would take a stand to protect the Hungarian minorities both in Yugoslavia and elsewhere.

Antall said the free world and the United Nations were unable to provide assistance to the Hungarian revolution in 1956 apart from moral and political support, in view of the Cold War opposition.

The prime minister noted that generations had suffered for the inability to act against the 1917 Bolshevik turn, then for the consequences of the defensive policy following the Hitlerite takeover of power, and the ensuing international agreements. There is no realistic policy that would acquit any generation from observing certain fundamental political and moral norms. Inasmuch as a stand is not taken against a totalitarian system in time, millions perish instead of hundreds—this is the lesson of the 20th century.

We welcome President George Bush's recent concrete and brave initiative for considerable cuts in nuclear armaments as a new manifestation of the big powers, sense of responsibility. We hold it as promising that the Soviet leadership expressed its similar intention. We are confident that these steps herald the emergence of a more secure new world, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said.

Antall said conflicts as, for instance, the one in Yugoslavia, fundamentally endanger the promising goal of creating a free Europe. The forces of the communist-nationalist dictatorship in Yugoslavia, which have not been fully defeated yet, are now pitted against the followers of democracy, and are suppressing the just demands for national and minority autonomy.

Contrary to public belief, the issue in Yugoslavia is not merely occasional incidents against the cease-fire, but a ceaseless and merciless war, Antall said. He stressed the institutional involvement of representatives of the Albanian, Hungarian and other ethnic communities concerned, a must in settling the conflict alongside the member republics. Antall also noted that violations of human and minority rights should not be handled as simply the internal affairs of a country. Regrettably, he added, it is not yet a universally accepted principle that the United Nations takes a lawful stand in the interest of respect for human rights.

One-third of ethnic Hungarians have lived beyond the borders of the country for seven decades. "We urge the international community to accept a role in enforcing the rights of the minorities, and we shall not hesitate in utilizing international forums in the case that these rights are violated," Antall said.

The Hungarian prime minister said he supports the proposal to revoke the 1975 UN resolution on Zionism. He said Zionism is the philosophy of self-determination and the establishment of a state of the Jewish people, thus the resolution questions the fundamental rights of the Jewish people.

Antall Views Romanian Situation

LD0210214591 Budapest MTI in English 2012 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Text] Washington, October 2 (MTI)—Hungary has a vested interest in the progress of democratization in Romania, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said in an exclusive interview to MTI in Washington.

Hungary hopes for Romania's progress towards democratization and successful transition to a market-driven economy, said Antall, and not a retreat into isolation.

This is all the more important since the outer world sees this area of Europe as a unit and the emergence of any negative developments reflect on the entire region, he said.

Only in retrospect, he continued, will it be clear what role the different domestic political forces and motives played in the romanian changes.

The change in the prime minister's post may herald a new course in Romanian policy and offer a better chance for cooperation, Antall said. He added the selection of Theodor Stolojan for the post indicated Bucharest would emphasize economic and financial issues. It would not hurt Romanian policy as a whole if it were marked by a more pragmatic approach, Antall said.

Hungary is always prepared to improve relations, Antall said answering whether there would be any Hungarian initiated involvement with Bucharest, but opposes holding talks simply for the sake of appearances. A personal meeting alone would not clear the obstacles. Since the concrete political, diplomatic and economic problems are well-known, the high-level talks would only have sense after careful preparations.

The prime minister also spoke about a new party president for the Alliance of Free Democrats, Hungary's largest opposition party. He said, someone with a marked personality and international reputation is the most desirable choice as the new party leader (current president Janos Kis is to resign at the November party congress).

NATO Security Measures Stressed

LD0410020991 Budapest MTI in English 1910 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Washington, October 3 (MTI)—"NATO should declare that it assumes responsibility for the security of the region lying between its borders and the Soviet border," Hungarian Prime Minister commented on the U.S.-German proposals for extending NATO cooperation on Thursday. The prime minister proposed that the sovereignty of the six Yugoslav republics be recognized and the crisis settled through general, international cooperation.

Antall delivered a paper and replied to questions in the Foreign Policy Institute of George Washington University. Concerning the U.S. -German proposals made on Thursday, the prime minister recalled that Hungary was the first to urge NATO to play a role in the region. "The point is that NATO should assume responsibility for the security of the region lying between its borders and the Soviet border, the legal and organizational issues are of secondary importance," Antall said. In his view, the countries in the region may either join NATO as full members on the basis of bilateral agreements, or set up a regional organization affiliated to NATO.

"It is time to recognize the sovereignty of the six republics of Yugoslavia since the Helsinki Final Act, which prohibits the forceful modification of borders, can only apply to them in such a case," Antall said. "In the framework of this sovereignty, the republics would assume the obligation of respecting human rights, minority rights, and the autonomy of the national minorities, including the Serbian community of Croatia."

"A transition period lasting for three to five years would be required for the republics to decide whether they remain entirely independent or join a new confederation. A central organization for handling the emerging issues would be retained in the transition period. A solution of this kind would receive wide-ranging support from both the Yugoslav Federal Government and the republics. The international community would promote transformation with economic, legal and political steps and international control," Antall said. He added that any delay would only add fresh fuel to the extremist forces.

"The world policy role of the United States justifies that it should play a direct part in settling the crisis in

Yugoslavia," Antall said. "This is a model case, demonstrating how the international community would handle a crisis in the Soviet Union which would show a number of similar features: The clashes would also break out between the minorities, as well as between the conservative communists and the advocates of parliamentary democracy. The West, including the G-7 countries, should cooperate with the Soviet Union in settling the crisis in Yugoslavia. It is no longer an internal affair if a head of state says that he has no control over the Army and the prime minister states that he has nothing to do with the Armed Forces," Antall said.

In reply to questions, Antall said he was certain that there would be no civil war in Czechoslovakia. "Granting sovereignty to Slovakia seems unavoidable in the long run, and Bohemia will take note of this. It cannot be ruled out, however, that the Slovaks will associate with the Czechs even after that step. Hungary concentrates on defending the rights and guaranteeing the survival of the Hungarian minority," the prime minister said.

Antall Meets Dole, Senators

LD0410100191 Budapest MTI in English 0845 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Washington, October 4 (MTI)—"A firm and clear stand is necessary also from the part of the American Administration, in the interest of resolving the Yugoslav crisis," Senator Robert Dole said on Thursday, in the course of his meeting with Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall.

The Hungarian prime minister and the Senate minority leader mainly discussed the Yugoslav issue, and agreed it would set a poor example for the future if this serious crisis of the region is not successfully settled.

Hungarian Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo said the Yugoslav situation was likewise the main topic discussed at the working lunch hosted by Democratic senators for the Hungarian prime minister. "The crisis can destabilize the entire region, and can also shake the confidence of foreign businessmen towards Hungary. Averting the crisis is both a political and—in protection of its investments—an economic interest of the United States. We support the efforts of the EC, however, those are clearly unsuccessful, and it is indispensable for the United States to also accept a role in the settlement," Antall said.

Present at the lunch were Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, and Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. The Hungarian prime minister welcomed the American-German proposal made public that very day on intensifying relations between NATO and the Central-Eastern European countries, and ensured the agreement of the Hungarian Government with this effort.

Answering questions on the Soviet situation, Antall said only humanitarian aid should be ensured in the short-term, to prevent that anarchy sweep away the current leadership. Long-term western assistance to the Soviet Union should be bound to strict political, economic and military conditions.

With respect to the situation of the minorities in Hungary, Antall said the law on minorities under preparation stands on the basis of full legal equality, and the positive discrimination of the minorities. Hungary intends this law to be a model to the neighbouring countries.

Antall and his entourage attended a reception on Thursday evening hosted by Eniko Bollobas, counsellor of legation and charge d'affaires ad interim of the Hungarian Embassy in Washington. Present at the reception were many prominent figures of American political, economic and social life.

The Hungarian prime minister then met Lawrence Eagleburger, first assistant of the U.S. secretary of State, at a dinner held in the Hungarian Embassy.

On Friday, the last day of his visit to the United States, Prime Minister Antall is to meet Vice-President Dan Quayle at a working breakfast.

The meeting between President George Bush and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall is to take place in the noon hours, local time, on Friday.

Antall is to leave for Krakow in the evening hours, local time, to attend the Hungarian-Czechoslovak-Poland "Visegrad" talks.

Fur Notes Military Products Discussion in Poland

LD0310025791 Budapest MTI in English 2104 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 2 (MTI)—Modernizing their armies in the current difficult economic situation, and the possibility of selling military products on third markets either together or separately were among issues discussed said Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur about his recent visit to Poland.

Also events were surveyed taking place in the two countries' vicinity. The Polish political and military leadership is paying keen attention to the Ukraine's endeavour for independence, all the more so since the Ukraine, beside Russia, would also become a nuclear power.

Emphasizing their intention to up trilateral cooperation, the sides agreed to hold security policy consultations on these issues with Czechoslovakia.

Fur, who went at the invitation of Minister of Defense Vice Adm. Pyotr Kolodziejczyk, returned today.

Lubbers Discusses Hungarian Ties to EC

AU0310113591 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Sep 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Netherlands Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers by Zoltan Szalai in Budapest; date not given: "Will Western Europe Be Generous?"]

[Excerpts] In his exclusive interview to NEPSZABADSAG, Ruud Lubbers stated that after the realization of self-determination and the creation of new states, we should aim for a united Europe because there are issues that we can only solve together. Lubbers is currently the chairman of the EC. The Netherlands prime minister visited our country on the occasion of the European Movement conference in Budapest: [passage omitted]

[Szalai] What can Hungary do in a divided Europe?

[Lubbers] A country like yours can play a very important role, and there are several reasons for this. Hungarians started building their democracy earlier than the other East European countries, and they started from a relatively flexible system. Even the communist regime was characterized by a certain amount of openness. Consequently, you can progress much more quickly now. Moreover, Hungary is geographically quite close to Western Europe. Logically, when the EC speaks about the gradual expansion of its energy system or infrastructure network, this primarily affects countries that are geographically closer to the EC.

[Szalai] Nevertheless, it seems that the EC's generosity disappears as soon as we talk about the meat or textiles exports of the three Central European countries [Poland, Hungary, and the CSFR]. Yet, it is precisely in these areas where Hungary could optimally increase its exports....

[Lubbers] Yes, this is quite a serious problem at the moment. At the same time, I think that this will only be a temporary problem. The Western world is experiencing a small-scale recession at the moment. The social strata affected by this recession are afraid of the cheap prices of possible imports from Eastern Europe. That is why they are exercising political pressure on their governments, like the farmers in France. The governments are defensive—sometimes excessively so. The Netherlands is currently chairing the EC, and we think it is very important to break with this defensive attitude. Everybody has to understand that we cannot think only for today; we have to take future prospects into account, too. This is also extremely important from the point of view of the future of a united Europe; we really must find the means to completely open up our markets and a readiness to make greater sacrifices. I hope that the EC Foreign Ministers' meeting on 30 September will find a way out of the present situation, and that it will be possible for Hungary to sign an association treaty with the EC. [passage omitted]

Trade Minister Views Economy's Restructuring

AU0210130991 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 28 Sep 91 p 5

[Interview with Bela Kadar, minister for international economic relations, by Janos Vajda; place and date not given: "Bela Kadar on the Double Shock Affecting Our Economy—Aspirin Is Not Enough To Cure Pneumonia"]

[Text] While our government is proud of the better than expected balance of payments, our citizens are worried about company bankruptcies and increasingly frequent dismissals. The rigid and unsuitable structure in the depth of our national economy is hardly changing. Governmental influence pointing to the right direction also appears to be missing.

This is the reason we interviewed Bela Kadar:

[Vajda] While eastern trade collapsed more dramatically than forecast by many people, Hungarian foreign economic relations undoubtedly showed some results. However, the trends are not completely satisfactory. Almost three-quarters of our exports are material type products and food, while our imports of manufactured consumer goods have suddenly increased without any reason. If we talk in terms of quantities, we have to say that our exports have gradually declined. What is your opinion about the near future?

[Kadar] Our export structure is given and, obviously, it is hard to alter it within a short time. However, we need time, as well as massive development and investment, to alter this structure. The investment "climate" has been unfavorable in the Hungarian economy for years. We cannot point out a decisive difference between the growth rate of liberalized imports and licensed imports. The increased imports of manufactured consumer goods broadens the choice of goods in Hungary.

By 1992, our Eastern European exports might be over the worst. At the moment, based on a government decision, we are investigating the possibilities of enlivening Soviet-Hungarian trade. We are coordinating a detailed list with the Soviet Government and the governments of the republics to expand our barter agreements. We are coordinating a list of industrial products to the value of $1 billion and a list of agricultural products to the value of $500 million. Unfortunately, no appropriate measures have been made to handle enterprises that lost their Eastern European markets. In the summer of 1990, the Ministry of International Economic Relations initiated the establishment of a market change fund to help modernize the viable elements of enterprises with governmental assistance. In response to unequivocal social pressure, the Finance Ministry suggested in August the establishment of a bank for reconstruction, using 5 billion forints from the central budget and a similar amount from outside sources. The recession will probably affect this year and extend over the first half of 1992 as well. A fundamental question for 1992 is how fast and to what extent the winding up and the privatization of large companies will progress.

[Vajda] It is your view that the Hungarian economy was simultaneously affected by two shocks, namely a supply shock and a demand shock. How long is it possible to tolerate the consequences of the decline of industrial output, the increase of unused capacities and, generally, our heterogeneous production system? Can these factors be handled with restrictive monetary methods?

[Kadar] Naturally, they can. A person with pneumonia can also be given aspirin. However, it might not help him recover. Monetary restriction creates a shortage of demand, which becomes a major obstacle to production increase and structural change, and it also hinders privatization. The present situation is characterized by the fact that there is no demand for goods that are being produced in the current structure but, at the same time, there is no capital to restructure production. Through monetary restriction, we only achieved half of our original aims; namely, we managed to reduce the macroeconomic imbalance. However, we did this on a low level and did not actually ease the now century-old structural problems. We need a selective development policy that could involve incentives for investment, savings, and exports by enterprises, the liberalization of capital and credit markets, and giving preferential loans to old and new enterprises that have marketable products and that are capable of development.

[Vajda] A financially supported central industrial policy played a demonstrable role in the economic development of southern European countries and of the "little tigers" of the Far East. Should we also apply this kind of economic strategy?

[Kadar] It is a basic truth that it is not expedient or possible to implement an old-style, central industrial policy in the Hungarian economy. However, the state always has special tasks at times of economic modernization. The government has to play a role in order to establish international specialization in the decisive areas of technical development (by setting up industrial parks, think factories [inkubatorhaz], and so on), and in order to speed up the change of markets. Enterprise-friendly and export-oriented economic policy includes financial tools tax, and interest concessions, services, or the modernization of the export tender system that we have to coordinate with our investment policy on foreign working capital. This could help us move away from our predominantly material-intensive and energy-intensive production toward an increased role of the processing industry.

Agricultural Minister on Exports, Reforms

AU0210184391 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 28 Sep 91 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Minister of Agriculture and Food Elemer Gergatz by Gabor Gabnai; place and date not given: "Green Light for the Cooperatives, Red Light for the Kolkhozes"]

[Text] The Agriculture Ministry recently drafted the government's agricultural program, which will later be presented to the National Assembly. The National Assembly's economic committee and the leadership of the Hungarian Agricultural Chamber have already discussed the program, and the latter had certain reservations concerning some of the points on the program. What role will agriculture be given in the future? Which are the basic "cornerstones" of our agricultural concept? These were some of the questions we asked Minister of Agriculture and Food Elemer Gergatz:

[Gergatz] We can safely declare that agricultural production will still be a leading branch in the future, and it will be of determining importance in our national economy. Indeed, over the next few years, our agriculture will still be able to produce the $1.5-billion export surplus that the government is realistically planning on. As far as cornerstones are concerned, I would say the following: Our basic aim is to make Hungarian agriculture competitive, economical, and efficient, and we also want it to adapt to market circumstances—by that, we primarily mean the Western market rather than the Eastern one (we have been thinking along these lines for a long time now). Formulated in this way, it seems very easy, but in practice, we have had to find square one. Square one is the settlement of ownership relations, and this will develop after the implementation of the Compensation Law.

[Gabnai] Many people are afraid that the implementation of the Compensation Law will lead to an excessive division of landed property, that the dimensions will move further and further away from the ideal size of small-scale farms, and that this will disturb our agricultural concept. Is that so?

[Gergatz] It is true that, everywhere in the world, agricultural production is being concentrated, and we seem to be doing the opposite. However, I have to stress that this is only an appearance, because individual properties can also be used in common—cooperatives formed from below could be established, and these would naturally be different from the kolkhozes of the past. Thus, one could benefit from the advantages (machines, sales) of a medium-sized plant. We have to get used to the idea that it is not necessarily the landowner who will use the land, and this is all right. The landowner can lease his land—perhaps even to cooperatives, like I said earlier. We think that many people, particularly old people, will no longer sow and harvest; they will prefer to lease their land. It would be very difficult to tell you the ideal property size that we would like to see. To a great extent, this depends on the kind of plants one would like to grow, and it also depends on the size of the livestock and the location. For example, one cannot have intensive grain cultivation on a few hectares of land, but a "hold" or two [Hungarian unit of land measurement, corresponding to 0.57 hectares] is enough for greenhouse vegetable cultivation. The ideal sizes will develop sooner or later without the ministry or the government having to directly intervene.

[Gabnai] Minister Gergatz, what effect does the loss of the eastern market have on our agriculture? Indeed, we have failed to break into the Western stock exchanges (much coveted by many people) with our products.

[Gergatz] I would not talk about the loss of eastern markets, but rather about a seasonal limitation. As you know, it is not just the Soviet market but the whole empire that has collapsed, and for many years, the Soviet republics were the greatest customers for the products from our agricultural industry and food industry. So far, the drastic consequence has been that we cannot place our mass products on the domestic market, but this does not represent an insurmountable problem. We are doing everything we can to stop a blocking of our eastern market channels. We are participating in various barter deals, and we have accepted delayed installment payments. For example, in the case of exports to the Soviet Union, the government has issued guarantees to producers for 1.3 million tonnes of wheat, and our Soviet neighbors will only start paying their installments in 18 months' time. We have signed similar business deals with Albania. Incidentally, our export situation is not nearly as bad as many people would have you believe. Allow me to quote some figures to prove my point: This year, our realistic export predictions estimated that we would have a $2.2-2.3-billion income from our agricultural and food industry exports. By 1 August, our income already amounted to $1.5 billion, and we may well end up with a $2.6-2.8-billion export income by the end of this year. Our imports will not amount to half that sum, so we may well obtain the $1.4-1.5 billion surplus I mentioned at the beginning of our conversation.

[Gabnai] Will economic rules be modified in the future?

[Gergatz] Naturally, we can expect this to happen. The nature of these modifications will primarily depend on changes in the tax system. Export-import restrictions will diminish in our trade system, and we can also expect fewer state subsidies for our products. Naturally, this is a global tendency, but the level from which subsidies are cut in certain countries is not irrelevant—in other words, what can producers tolerate, and how much can they put up with? However, there is no more direct way of influencing production: The same applies to EC member states. The new agricultural regulations bill will be presented to the National Assembly this autumn, and after its acceptence, we will be able to take a great step in the direction of a real market economy.

[Gabnai] What is your opinion on unemployment in the agricultural sector?

[Gergatz] The idea that unemployment will be reduced in the long run through privatization is an illusion. In developed agricultural systems, the workforce's role is becoming increasingly small, and this is natural. That is precisely why services and the broadening of small businesses can help solve employment problems in villages, better than just agricultural work. Incidentally, we have a special apparatus in the ministry for regional programs; indeed, for the next eight or 10 years, agriculture will have to function as a job-creating sector, not just as the producer of competitive market goods.

[Gabnai] Finally, Minister Gergatz, do you think there will be a "wine war" this autumn?

[Gergatz] There will be no wine war because the ministry is not making any promises to the wine producers that it cannot keep. We will do everything we can to avoid a grape war. In concrete terms, we are subsidising wages with 1 forint and 50 fillers per kilogram of grapes, thereby trying to save production. Good wine has always found a market, and it always will. The only people who will be disappointed will be those who try to produce more wine than allowed from a given area of picked grapes. However, that will not lead to a wine war!

August Unemployment Figures Reach 251,000

LD0210192491 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 1 (MTI)—The number of unemployed people registered in Hungary reached 251,000 by the end of August, according to a report released by the National Labour Centre here this week. The number shows a 16 per cent increase on the previous month's rate, the report says. A total of 5.2 per cent of Hungary's workforce are unemployed at the moment, with relatively good conditions prevailing in Budapest, where the unemployment rate is only 1.5 per cent.

The number of vacant jobs registered hardly exceeded 14,000 in August, with just six vacancies for every 100 unemployed on a national average. Ninety-one per cent of the jobs were offered to manual workers, mainly skilled ones. Of all the unemployed people, 11 per cent are jobless upon leaving school, the report says.

Consumer Prices Post 0.2 Percent August Increase

LD0210192991 Budapest MTI in English 1723 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 1 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Consumer prices rose by only 0.2 per cent in the month of August, indicating a continuing downward inflation curve, a recent report of the Central Statistical Office shows.

The monthly inflation figures for this year are: 7.5 per cent in January over December, 4.4 per cent in February, 3.5 per cent in March, 2.4 per cent in April, 2.2 per cent in May, 2.1 per cent in June and 0.9 per cent in July.

The modest rise in the consumer price level in August is seen as the combined result of end-of-summer clothing sales, cheap seasonal fruit and vegetables and a large-scale meat sale.

The price level stood 34.2 per cent higher in August than in the same month of 1990.

The largest price increase in the previous 12 months was in household energy, which was 99.3 per cent up on August last year. Next came services in general (45.5 per cent), industrial goods and petrol (41.9 per cent), clothing (31.9 per cent) and consumer durables (29.4 per cent).

SZDSZ Chairman Kis Discusses Resignation

AU0310214391 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Oct 91 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Janos Kis, chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats, by Katalin Bossanyi; place and date not given: "Janos Kis Only Leaves the Presidium—The SZDSZ Is Preparing for Elections"]

[Text] Based on authoritative sources, we recently informed our readers that Janos Kis would not run for the position of chairman at the upcoming congress of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] to be held at the end of November. I asked Janos Kis to tell us the reasons behind his decision:

[Kis] There is no secret whatsoever behind my decision. The reasons today are the same as the ones that made me refrain from accepting the position of legislative deputy, as I also said before: I do not want to fulfill any kind of executive position. Defending democracy and human rights, as well as actively participating in political life are very important for me, but I cannot, nor do I want, to become a professional politician. Consequently, from the very beginning, I made it clear to the people surrounding me that I only intended to fulfill the position of party chairman temporarily. I conveyed my decision to the leadership of our party this summer, and I have now announced it to a broader audience at our latest faction meeting held over the weekend.

[Bossanyi] This can also be interpreted as follows: Janos Kis the social scientist overcame Janos Kis the politician.

[Kis] No. I do not intend to retire from active politics. I think that I will continue to play a role with the Free Democrats, and my ideas and influence will also play a role.

[Bossanyi] Why did you choose this time to step down, and why did you allow this fact to leak out this way? One would have expected you to come forward and justify your decision to the public.

[Kis] The timing was strictly determined by the fact that we will have a general meeting in November, and I thought I should inform the members of my decision in time for preparation and nomination of new candidates. As for the leak, I can only say that there were a lot of people at that meeting on Sunday.... I submitted my decision in writing to Pal Juhasz, chairman of the SZDSZ national board, on 30 September. I wanted to inform the party members first, and only then the general public. The press, however, was faster.

[Bossanyi] The timing must have also been connected with the fact that, according to many people, the SZDSZ is in a crisis. Do you think so?

[Kis] No doubt, the SZDSZ is struggling with serious identity problems. I think it is in a much better situation than our enemies claim or than the image they try to present to the public. According to opinion polls, the SZDSZ has only lost 3 percent of its popularity since the elections, and it stubbornly maintains the figure of 18 percent.

[Bossanyi] That is a fact. One can also see, however, that your party has collapsed in the provinces, and the party members are dissatisfied with the performance of the party faction!

[Kis] Our membership has, indeed, decreased in recent months, and many people are dissatisfied with the performance of our legislative faction. This, in itself, would justify a change in the leadership: This is the way things work in democratic parties. A change in the leadership will obviously lead to a situation in which the party can better identify itself.

[Bossanyi] Watching things from the outside, there are signs of stagnation.

[Kis] We won the local elections in larger towns, and this speaks for itself. The SZDSZ played a decisive role in avoiding the degeneration of the taxi drivers' blockade, because we were able to prevent the deployment of police forces. The fact that the SZDSZ raised its voice in every dangerous situation and protested against all manifestations of intolerance and nationalism, while carrying out an active policy toward the democratic forces in our neighboring countries, greatly contributed to the fact that Hungary's relations with its neighbors has not deteriorated more dramatically than at present. The SZDSZ economic policy had enough arguments to make our efforts influence the government on the issues of privatization and inflation, albeit sometimes only on a rhetorical level. Therefore, I cannot accept the accusation that we have been unsuccessful as a whole.

[Bossanyi] You are stepping down precisely at a time when populist demagogy gains ground in the coalition parties and government activity is characterized by authoritarianism and concentration of power, a time when democratic institutions are attacked. There are people who see a connection between your "departure" and the deterioration of the general situation.

[Kis] Without me, the SZDSZ will continue to oppose the efforts toward paternalism, authoritarianism, and restoration of the state church, just like before. Moreover, I hope that a larger, more united party will oppose the antidemocratic manifestations more efficiently than before.

[Bossanyi] Janos Kis' chairmanship, however, also means that the SZDSZ continues the best traditions of

democratic opposition. Could your departure signal a change in the party's direction?

[Kis] I am not leaving the party, just the position of chairman. The philosophy I represent continues to have a considerable camp of followers within the SZDSZ, and this philosophy has very serious support.

[Bossanyi] Rumor has it that Peter Tolgyessy is the most likely candidate to become SZDSZ chairman. This would not only mean a leadership change, but a change in the SZDSZ policy.

[Kis] I do not know who will be the candidates, but I think that it would not be nice for a departing chairman to give opinions about his successor in advance. The SZDSZ has been a democratic party, and it will continue to be one. There have always been several trends in our party, but I think that the stream of thought I represent will continue to dominate the party. This is not a personnel issue, but the result of the party's tradition and long-term policy. Independent political scientists signaled the possible nomination of Peter Tolgyessy as party chairman. This does not mean that he will be the exclusive nominee. Whoever will be the SZDSZ chairman, we can only evaluate him after we have some knowledge of his performance.

[Bossanyi] Tolgyessy has not been the only name mentioned. The leaders closest to you in person and spirit, like Ivan Peto, Peter Hack, Ferenc Wekler, Marton Tardos, and Istvan Szent-Ivanyi asked for votes of confidence in order to clarify their status. One watching all this from the outside has the impression that a coup has taken place!

[Kis] That is a mistake. These people asked for votes of confidence, precisely because they are sure that most party members agree with their work so far. Thus, my departure will not affect our party's internal structure.

[Bossanyi] What is your opinion of Hungarian society and politics today??

[Kis] I think that the governing coalition is increasingly unable to fulfill the real and serious tasks inherent in Hungary's social and economic restructuring. Therefore, the coalition is increasingly drifting into a position of becoming a prisoner of its own right-wing extremists. Consequently, this authoritative and client-oriented power wants to rule over our press, culture, and education. In my opinion, this drifting is a sign of weakness. There are ways to oppose these efforts, and there is sense in doing this. Of course, this requires the opposition of the current coalition to get together, and I do not only mean the parliamentary opposition but all of the more active Hungarian democrats on whom Hungary's future might depend.

[Bossanyi] I would like to return to the manner and timing of your departure. Is the SZDSZ changing its leader at a proper time?

[Kis] I think that, in the current election cycle, there will not be a calmer period in which to carry out the personnel changes within the SZDSZ leadership without particular commotion. I repeat, however, that there is a need for such changes. The SZDSZ should be led by people who are professional politicians and are ready to fulfill public functions. We must also consider the fact that the people who will now lead the SZDSZ will have to engage in politics eventually, so that they stand a good chance in the next elections. The more critically we regard the current situation, the more we must prepare for changes, because we do not know for sure whether those elections will be held at the end of the current cycle or in one year.

MDF Deputy Criticizes Faction Leader Statement

AU0310092791

[Editorial Report] Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian on 27 September on page 4 carries a 3,000-word article on Imre Konya's analysis of the political situation by Kata Beke, Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) representative, under the headline: "I Wonder Why He Wrote It?"

In her introduction, Beke questions whether Konya is only a democrat in theory but not in practice. She also states that his essay "does not correspond to the title, because there is no analysis of the political situation in it."

Beke addresses the various sections of Konya's article in turn. He notes that, in talking about the beginning of the change of regime, "Konya makes a mistake" because "he attributes something that was many people's undertaking in many different ways, solely to the role of the MDF." She later adds that "obviously, many parties can take credit for establishing the multiparty system and attributing it to the MDF shows a lack of seriousness."

In Beke's opinion, Konya's call for every section of the MDF to trust each other and to mind their own business, is equivalent to a call for "blind faith."

Reviewing the section on freedom of the press and democracy, Beke states that "the MDF should have formed a professional press policy" at the time the press was dissatisfied with the MDF's election victory. Instead, the MDF's answer was "offended arrogance."

Beke quotes Konya's statement that the government's position provided an "excellent opportunity" to "fundamentally change" the political attitude of the Hungarian Radio and Television, especially at a time when the West does not doubt the Hungarian Government's "democratic and liberal commitments" any longer. Referring to a conference on the media and politics, Beke quotes Western opinions that say that Hungary's deteriorating image is due to "the government's efforts to seize all power by all means, which also affects the press."

Beke notes that Konya did not understand why his essay was received with so much indignation. She goes on to say "but there are so many things he does not understand." "Perhaps he did not even notice that what he wanted was the same 'controlled and directed publicity' that he, in this section's introductory words, called 'an organic part of dictatorships'?"

Beke remarks that, talking about reducing pensions for time spent as apparatchiks, Konya "confuses social security and politics," and she notes that "discriminating" against anyone who paid their pension contributions was "anti-constitutional." She also calls his suggestion "legally and morally absurd" and meaningless because the "nomenklatura shifted between the apparatus and state offices." She warns that this kind of suggestion "induces fear and anxiety" at a time when "what we need most is stability."

Beke refers to Konya as saying that "we could not do anything that would 'antagonize people' until the West accepted us 'as a peaceful and secure society that professes the value system of civilized countries'." She goes on to say that Konya is "unable to acknowledge the fact" that the "image that people have of on Hungary is changing and this present essay did not help this image."

As part of her conclusions, Beke states that it is "essential to have a press that is independent of the government and that exercises social control and mediation," because "legislative and executive power can melt into each other" when there is a large government majority.

In Beke's opinion, Konya discredited the MDF with this "unfortunate essay" as few other people have. She stresses the point that the MDF is a forum to express the many various ideas and opinions "in the flexible framework of three basic principles, namely popular-national alignment, Judeo-Christian traditions, and liberalism."

Socialist Party Official on Party Tasks, Prospects

AU0210131991 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Sep 91 p 9

[Interview with Zoltan Gal, head of the Hungarian Socialist Party faction in the National Assembly, by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "I Do Not Need Self-Justifying Arguments"]

[Excerpts] "The decisive figures in our government coalition show great dexterity in building up their own power position, a greater dexterity than in solving the serious problems facing our society. According to my forecast, the internal debates in the government coalition will die out without essential changes"—Zoltan Gal said. He added that he did not count on the possibility that the coalition will now "blow up" itself and call for new elections. Zoltan Gal spoke about the internal debates going on in the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. Zoltan Gal, who was interior minister before the change in the regime, declared that he had no list of agents either:

[Pinter] A conspicuously large number of speeches and other manifestations within the MSZP have recently dealt with social issues. According to a government party representatives, you are trying with all this to divert the attention from "the increasing need to settle accounts with the past." What is your answer to this?

[Gal] First of all, I recommend this government party representative to read [Hungarian Democratic Forum Parliamentary Faction Leader Imre] Konya's essay, which clearly says that settling the accounts with the past is not demanded by the majority of our society. Besides, the MSZP values and its social democratic character oblige us to try to draw attention to social issues on every possible occasion. Every reasonable person must accept the fact that the fate of the Hungarian society is affected most by these social issues. Our democracy is vulnerable on this point because an increasing number of people are getting into a very difficult situation, and extremist forces could make use of the helplessness of others. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Dealing with the past might have different effects on the MSZP faction members. There are deputies who actively participated in shaping politics in the old regime, too, and there are people who stepped into politics after the change in the regime. Are there tensions between these people when the need to clarify the past is on the agenda?

[Gal] Of course, our political enemies make use of the fact that there are people in the MSZP who played smaller or bigger roles in the old regime, and our political enemies are trying to identify the MSZP with the old regime. Their political interest is not to allow the MSZP and its ideas to strengthen. We see that our society quickly recognizes this and increasingly pays attention to who says what and who does what. I do not want to avoid your question: Of course, there are people in the MSZP who think that our political enemies' arguments would be weaker if there were no people in our party who were also active politicians in the old regime. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Do you have internal debates on the direction the MSZP should advance? Contrary to earlier times, there is a relatively big silence about this within the MSZP.

[Gal] There are fewer debates, but that does not mean that the MSZP has become a monolithic party. I think that, with different stresses, the MSZP as a whole accepts the fact that the MSZP wants to be a social democratic party in the European sense of the term, and all our efforts are directed in this direction. There is a broad leftist trend in our party: There are people who promote the national feeling more, and there are people who are religious and believe in Christian socialist principles. In this respect, we no longer differ from any European social democratic party. There are different streams in the party, but there are no such streams that we could not accept.

[Pinter] How do these European social democratic streams view the MSZP?

[Gal] Most of them misinterpreted the situation. They did not believe that the Socialist Party that emerged after the elimination of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] would be different from its predecessor. Many people thought that only a party totally separated from the MSZMP would be able to assert social democratic ideals in Hungary. Many people continue to stick to this opinion today. However, those who look at us without prejudice cannot deny the fact that the MSZP is a social democratic party. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] The composition of various legislative factions has changed lately. Do you think that there will be changes in the MSZP faction too?

[Gal] It is difficult to give a clear positive or negative answer to this question. There are debates in the faction, and it is possible that one or two deputies are considering a different seat. However, I do not think that I will see them in another faction, but I cannot exclude the possibility that they take up seats among the independent deputies. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Do you have any documents or messages from your period as interior minister, documents that can only be in your possession today?

[Gal] You have formulated this question very distinctively, but I anticipate your next question: I do not have a list of agents. I believe in what I initiated at the time—namely, that responsible political forces should sit together and negotiate to avoid a possible explosion. A solution must be found to avoid the possibility of anyone trying to abuse that information. Tough measures should be promised to such abuses. I am convinced that we must seek primarily political solutions, rather than legal or technical ones, and we must do this fast.

Walesa on Joint Activity With CSFR, Hungary

LD0410090491 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0700 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Union and integration, not division, ought to be the aims of our joint activity, said President Lech Walesa in an interview to the SZTANDAR MLODYCH before a meeting of leaders of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary that will begin in Krakow tomorrow. The president stressed that cooperation within a triangle does not work out the way it should at first. Each state within the trio wants to test its strength in cooperation with Europe on its own initiative. In practice, what happens is that it will be easier for us to enter the EEC together.

Lech Walesa emphasized that the essence of cooperation between Warsaw, Prague, and Budapest was the awareness that more things unite than divide us and that we can achieve our aim more quickly with solidarity, and not with rivalry. The president indicated that the only way out for us was by striving for the integration of our states. He supported the removal of still existing barriers between our countries.

Speaking about the issue of security in central Europe, Lech Walesa emphasized that the creation of international armed forces in Europe under the (?auspices) of the UN was essential. The existence of such forces would be calming, would make conflicts impossible, and would inhibit tragic escalations.

Walesa Urges CSCE Integration for East Europe

LD0410112591 Warsaw PAP in English 1023 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 4—Polish President Lech Walesa criticized Friday the behaviour of the West saying it was unacceptable. "The community treats itself more democratically than other countries. Especially those in Central and Eastern Europe," he added.

"We do not want special privileges," Walesa told the Polish youth daily "SZTANDAR MLODYCH" on the eve of the Polish-Czecho-Slovak-Hungarian summit in Krakow. "The basis of our cooperation must be and is the awareness of common interests. The awareness that more unites than divides us."

On the possibility of forming by the "triangle" a common trading area before entering the EC, Walesa said that the matter should be dealt with quickly. "The border areas have made a good start on this, the aim of integrating our states is the only way out for us."

"The triangle countries ought to play a special role in working out the international reaction to the events in the East. The newly formed neighbouring states should be integrated into the CSCE as soon as possible," continued Walesa.

On the question of security Walesa said: "A new NATO strategy is necessary especially with regard to our states, to strengthen the general European role of the Alliance. It is necessary to set up an international armed force in Europe under the United Nations."

Foreign Minister Hopeful About Talks With USSR

LD0310234291 Warsaw PAP in English 2055 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 3—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski told a press conference on Thursday he saw chances for progress in the negotiations on a Polish-Soviet treaty on cooperation and good neighbourliness and announced that Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin was likely to pay a visit to Warsaw shortly.

The negotiations "were paralyzed as the Soviet side had presented unacceptable clauses on security," Skubiszewski said and added that Minister Pankin would come to Poland when main provisions of the treaty are settled, or even before that.

As regards the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland in 1992, Skubiszewski said the USSR conditioned this on financial questions and hinted that Poland was unable to offer Soviets any benefits due to her budget deficit.

Referring to Polish-Lithuanian relations, Minister Skubiszewski stated that Poland wants very good and close contacts with Lithuania in all spheres but cannot accept the recent infringement of the rights of Poles living in the republic.

"It is bad that at the beginning of their independence, the Lithuanians, departing from European standards, have created problem of the Polish minority. We will seek solutions to it," he said. Declaring good will on the Polish side, Skubiszewski stated however that the interests of Poles in Lithuania will be protected.

Speaking about Poland's association with EC, Minister Skubiszewski opined that a relevant agreement should be signed by the end of this year as both Poland and EC countries wanted that. Also Poland's contacts with NATO are, according to the minister, increasingly intensive and systematic.

Krzysztof Skubiszewski also referred to the lawsuit brought by Rabbi Weiss against Polish primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp for the latter's allegedly anti-Jewish remarks, and said there was no justification for it.

"What Rabbi Weiss did is inadmissible," he stated and added that the Polish Foreign Ministry was prepared to provide every assistance to the primate.

"The issue disturbs Polish-Jewish relations rather than Polish-Israeli ones, although many Jews are against Rabbi Weiss' action," Skubiszewski opined.

Impact of Electoral Law Discussed

PM0310142891 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 27 Sep 91 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Prof. Janusz Trzcinski, Sejm deputy and Legislative Commission chairman, by correspondent Malgorzata Sadowy-Piatek; place and date not given]

[Text] [Sadowy-Piatek] The parliamentary election is fast approaching. The final version of the electoral law approved by the Sejm was born amid veritable labor pains and generated much controversy and high feeling. In the end, though, we will vote according to its precepts. Consequently, I believe that it is high time to make these precepts known to our readers, especially as it contains many points which require elucidation.

[Trzcinski] We approved an electoral law based on proportional representation, which means that the parliamentary deputies' mandates will be distributed proportionally to the votes cast for the election lists put forward by the political parties or election alliance groups active in the given electoral districts. This, of course, presupposes that the number of votes cast for those particular lists will exceed a certain threshold.

[Sadowy-Piatek] Let us take the example of Wroclaw Voivodship to illustrate this principle....

[Trzcinski] In the case of the Wroclaw Electoral District, which has 12 seats in Parliament and comprises more than 800,000 voters, the threshold is 4.5-5 percent. This means that the given list must attract at least that percentage of votes before it can be considered in the distribution of the 12 seats, or parliamentary deputies' mandates. This is the first general principle. The second principle is that we decided to set apart 15 percent of the total 460 Sejm deputy mandates to representatives of the so-called national lists. This takes care of 69 mandates.

[Sadowy-Piatek] Well, it is not very clear what these national lists are supposed to be....

[Trzcinski] Let me tell you quite frankly that I voted against the national lists, and, what is more, I personally would not like to be placed on one of them because such placement constitutes, in a sense, a reward for active involvement or prominent position in a political group or public organization.

[Sadowy-Piatek] So who will be the nominees from that special "69 Candidates Pool"?

[Trzcinski] The mandates allocated from the national lists will be shared out in proportion to all votes cast for the given list nationally. Moreover, according to Article 100, Point 2 of the electoral law, the mandates to be shared out between the national candidates' lists will be divided between the lists—put forward by the election committees—which will either have returned deputies' mandates (drawn from the district lists of candidates connected with the corresponding national lists) in at least five electoral districts or obtained a total number of valid votes (for their district lists) representing not less than 5 percent of all valid votes cast in favor of all district lists in all electoral districts.

[Sadowy-Piatek] This is most involved....

[Trzcinski] You need to be placed on a district list in order to be eligible for the national list. For example, if the given list has won two deputies' mandates for the district and stands a chance of securing a mandate from the national list, that mandate will go to the person who did not win within the district but who has been placed on the national list. If, on the other hand, a candidate who is at the same time on the national list wins a deputy's mandate to represent his district, he vacates the national list mandate for the next person from his political group or party who has been placed on the national list.

[Sadowy-Piatek] Is the existence of the national lists of any significance to the voters, considering that they will not vote for them directly?

[Trzcinski] The composition of the national lists is of some significance for the voters in their districts. As they vote in favor of the given district list, the voters will, by the same token, reinforce the list's position when the mandates from the "69 Candidates' Pool" are allocated. For example, a voter in Olsztyn Voivodship who votes in favor of the Democratic Union's election list will be able to raise the odds in favor of that party's leaders' still winning the parliamentary deputy's mandate, should they fail to receive it from their own electoral districts.

[Sadowy-Piatek] At the moment, it looks as though the procedure of the voting itself will be extremely complicated. The voter will be given a staggering number of candidates' lists submitted in the district. In Wroclaw, there will be as many as...34 such lists.

[Trzcinski] I am still not certain whether the lists will be published comprehensively on a single sheet or printed separately.

[Sadowy-Piatek] What chance will candidates placed further down the lists stand of winning a deputy's mandate?

[Trzcinski] If the majority of voters vote for the candidate placed further down a given electoral list, that particular candidate will be the winner. This is because, in the final count, the total percentage of votes cast for the given list will be the decisive factor. If, for example, the list submitted by the left-wing political groups receive 15 percent of votes in our electoral district, then it is to be expected that two deputy's mandates will be allocated from that list. And then the candidate who gained the largest number of votes from that list will be appointed Sejm deputy regardless of whether he held the sixth or the 10th place on the list.

[Sadowy-Piatek] The vote itself will be cast by marking with an "X" the box next to the name of the candidate featured on the election committee's electoral list, will it not?

[Trzcinski] Yes. It should be made very clear that the voter can enter an "X" in only one box. As he votes in favor of his preferred candidate, he will at the same time declare his support for the given list. An "X" placed elsewhere on the list, or on more than one list, invalidates the vote.

[Sadowy-Piatek] It is claimed that a considerable proportion of the public will refuse to vote in this election. Will the new Sejm still be elected regardless of the election turnout?

[Trzcinski] Even if—to use an extreme example—only 1 percent of all those entitled to vote took part in the election, the election results would still be deemed valid. We have to contend with the strong possibility that, in view of a certain sense of fatigue felt by the public, mainly as a result of economic difficulties, the election turnout could be as low as 35-40 percent, in which case victory would go the political group that manages to mobilize the largest proportion of its electorate.

[Sadowy-Piatek] Does this not create the danger that the next Sejm could be accused of being unrepresentative?

[Trzcinski] Unfortunately, such a danger does exist. Let me also say that, in addition to the low election turnout, other charges could be leveled: that the electoral law was imperfect, that the prevailing economic situation was unfavorable. And, eventually, a whole theory could be construed urging a prompt dissolution of the new Sejm as an outright unrepresentative or insufficiently representative body.

[Sadowy-Piatek] What, then, Professor, would your advice be to the potential voters, and especially to those who are still undecided?

[Trzcinski] First, they certainly should vote. They should allow no one else to make decisions for them. Democracy comes at a price, but the price is worth paying even if it is very high. Second, I would advise voters to try to confront the rhetoric of the election—the slogans, the promises, and so on—with a realistic appraisal of what they see around them. In addition, I myself have always stressed the importance of the personality aspect in assessing election candidates. I suggest that people vote for the candidates they know to be sensible, moderate, and balanced, and to have stable opinions—the candidates who are competent specialists in their fields and who understand our social and economic problems really well. In my opinion, moral and ethical qualifications alone or the past record of fighting against the previous system are no longer sufficient on their own.

Moreover, we must take care not to deceive ourselves by pretending that party political programs will constitute the election's main divisive issues. Everyone in the country, from left to right and back again, is in favor of a free market. The majority of the public prefers a parliamentary state system, though there is also a fairly sizable contingent of advocates of a presidential system. Everyone justifies his preferred option by reason of state. Just find me a person who does not invoke slogans of democracy, independence, and civil freedoms these days! So where are the differences? That is why it is a good thing that the electoral law was constructed so that it gives preference to persons rather than quasi-parties. After all, we really do not have a fully developed party system in our country yet.

[Sadowy-Piatek] Thank you for talking to us.

Council Accepts Resignation of Trade Union Leader

LD0410041891 Warsaw PAP in English 2050 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 3—The Council of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions accepted on Thursday the resignation of its leader Alfred Miodowicz and decided that a new head of the union would be elected in November.

"My resignation is in no way related to the parliamentary elections. Eight years of performing leading functions in trade unions is a considerable achievement considering that there were six premiers and five governments in that time," Miodowicz said.

Asked about his plans, Miodowicz said he was thinking about setting up a Social Democratic Party.

The OPZZ council also decided to re-structure and strengthen its regional bodies to make the union more efficient.

After the planned changes OPZZ will be more militant, the union Vice Chairman Ewa Spychalska said.

Mining Unions Hold Meeting, Issue Communique

AU0310201291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1904 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/10/1991—At the end of the joint working meeting of the Administration Board of the Tirgu Jiu Lignite Public Corporation, the Lignite Mining TU League, the Motru Mining TU League, the Tirgu Jiu Free Trade Unions, the Berbesti and Oltet Mining Trade Union, a communique was adopted to be forwarded to the Parliament, the presidency and the government.

The document demands financial deblocking and ensurance of funds through credits and budgetary allowances in lei to carry through retechnologization programmes and investment programmes.

In the ensuing period the parliamentary commissions, the local state administration, the trade unions and the Lignite Public Corporation administration will survey the miners' working and living conditions in coal fields as well as the problems they have to cope with in the production process so as to find out acceptable solutions, the document shows.

Miners' Leader Cosma Discusses Events

AU0310171491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1648 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/10/1991—Miron Cosma, the leader of the Mining Unions of the Jiu Valley coalfields, told a news conference held Wednesday, October 2, at Petrosani, that he did not favor the idea of the miners' departure to Bucharest, but since that was their decision, he had been forced to obey them. From what Miron Cosma said it could be inferred that it was not at after their arrival in Bucharest or on the way to the capital city, but as early as their departure from Vulcan, that the miners could no longer be kept under control.

Referring to the accusations the leading party senator, Gelu Voican Voiculescu made on September 30, in Romania's Parliament, according to whom Miron Cosma would have been a plotter, the union leader said that was a provocation, a diversion and he added he had compromising proofs as regards Mr. Voican's role in the development of 13-15 June 1990, when the miners descended on Bucharest and attacked demonstrators in the University Square.

Mr. Cosma rejected all the allegations referring to the miners' violent actions, including those maintaining that they had been masterminded by a political party. He said, nevertheless, that prior to September 25-27, representatives of the Civic Alliance were seen in the mining centers of the Jiu Valley.

As for the accusation that Mr. Miron Cosma would have been the author of a traffic accident in which a woman died, he admitted that he was at the wheel of the car and added that the case should be submitted to the court, although "personally I do not think I am guilty".

It is worth reminding that on September 25 and 26, some thousands of miners of the Jiu Valley coalfields descended on Bucharest and stormed important state institutions such as the government's headquarters, the presidency, the headquarters of the Assembly of Deputies. Three people died in the clashes and some hundreds were hurt. Trying to find a political solution to the crisis, the then premier, Petre Roman, returned the mandate of his cabinet to President Ion Iliescu. On October 1, President Ion Iliescu designated Theodor Stolojan, ex-finance minister in Roman's cabinet, to form a new government.

Roman on Stolojan Record, FSN Activities

AU0310200291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1854 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/10/1991—Mr. Theodor Stolojan was one of my first associates with no link to the old communist structures said Thursday, October 3, at a news conference Mr. Petre Roman, resigned premier of Romania.

Mr. Petre Roman pointed to the responsible offices Mr. Stolojan held both in the provisional government and in the one after May 20, showing that they were highly delicate missions in the new context of the reform. Mr. Petre Roman said the new executive's chief was a member of the essential reforming group and among the ones who worked on it. He also underscored Mr. Stolojan's important contribution as a director of the National Privatization Agency at a decisive time of efforts toward passing the privatization law, the only one of the kind in the former communist countries.

Thinking of who could continue the reform, Mr. Roman said, the choice came by itself: I proposed him and backed him, and I think he has all the proper qualities to assume the responsibility of governing.

Answering the journalists' questions, Mr. Roman said he had successive interviews with the National Salvation Front [FSN] parliamentary groups, when he pointed out that the National Salvation Front had for the first time the chance to wipe out the label "FSN is RCP", because for the first time after the elections very many people, outstanding intellectuals and youths, showed confidence in the FSN. As for the Jiu Valley, Mr. Roman said the FSN had no serious specific political action in that area to understand and notify what made miners' everyday life so hard as to bring them to such a violent action. This certainly must be remedied, he said.

The FSN leader stressed, while answering another question, he did not feel like being defeated. More particularly by what I continue to do I try to stop any ability of the conservative forces to interfere and oppose the reform, he underscored adding: We cannot speak about my defeat but about the defeat of what we tried to do and we managed to do for the country.

Referring to the potential differences between the premier and the country's president on the rates of the

reform, Mr. Petre Roman showed that Mr. Ion Iliescu agreed to the government's proposals regarding the principal items and moments.

As for the sacrifices the reform implies Mr. Petre Roman said: The conditions are much more favorable now because the whole international community is interested in seeing Romania just as the other former communist countries to rapidly pass on to a market economy and be integrated into it, into the democratic community.

UDMR's Domokos Blames Roman for Recent Events

AU0310171591 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 28-29 Sep p 2

[Interview with Geza Domokos, president of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, UDMR, by Raluca Stroie Brumariu; place and date not given: "In One Way or Another, Dictatorship..."]

[Text] On Thursday, 26 September, a delegation of miners entered the Romanian Parliament building and asked the deputies to demote President Iliescu. They were told that this was not possible. A little bit confused and tired after a whole night of being chased, the demonstrators left Metropolitan Hill. Long after they left, the parliamentarians remained inside the well-guarded building. I waited to ask them a few questions about what had happened in the Parliament, and in general, over the past 48 hours. Here is what Deputy Geza Domokos told us:

[Domokos] What happened was certainly most unusual, and an act that is at odds with everything democratic. At the same time, however, it means something. It confirms that great mistakes have been made in this country, and it confirms that the guiltiest person is Petre Roman, who refused to talk with these people, who came here with clearly stated peaceful intentions. On 27 September in the Parliament, Petre Roman tried to mislead the legal forum of the country and showed again his shallowness and arrogance, and even caused a diversion, that we mentioned, in the Parliament. He tried to divert the public's attention from the current problems by mentioning that government-in- exile, which was completely unimportant. Thus, this aggression and this torrent that broke out here proves one thing: The lack of cohesion in Romanian political life.

[Brumariu] What would be the solution?

[Domokos] I believe that the solution would be to ensure unity among the opposition. That could do much more and make the people understand that there are credible alternatives to the current way of governing, that there is an opposition that could draw the attention of those who have left the National Salvation Front but still not have found places in the opposition.

[Brumariu] What are the prospects currently?

[Domokos] If the president makes the great mistake of appointing Petre Roman again to the office of prime minister, a possibility that I do not exclude, the people will react with even greater vehemence than before.

[Brumariu] Thus, you believe that the great culprit is Petre Roman. What about Mr. Iliescu?

[Domokos] Mr. Iliescu is guilty for carrying the terrible burden of what happened in June last year, which stops him from sitting down to a serious and honest discussion (if he is capable of it) with the Romanian people. He cannot understand the role of the opposition in a democratic society and cannot detach himself form his reflexes. Of course, it is very difficult for him. I belong to the opposition, and a very categorical opposition, but I affirm that what happened is also our fault, primarily because of our lack of unity.

[Brumariu] Do you exclude the possibility of the Army turning against the demonstrators?

[Domokos] This is a difficult question... I believe that there are forces in Romania, these two extremes that everybody is talking about but nobody points them out (the press in the least), who have their people infiltrated in the Army too, and who are maybe waiting for an opportunity, a chaotic event, so that in the name of order (because that is how it always happens), of quiet, and of defense of citizens' assets, the Army might resort to these solutions. Maybe it will not be called a military dictatorship, but in one way or another, it will be a dictatorship. As a matter of fact, more than one year ago, I read in the ROMANIA MARE magazine—and a senator, whose name I do not want to disclose here also said—that the military administration should be introduced in Romania for at least two years. Neither the government nor the Parliament reacted in any way to those statements.

RMDSZ Issues Communique on Government Program

AU0410092091 Bucharest ROMANIA MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 1 Oct 91 p 1

["Communique of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania: We Participate in the Government Negotiations"; place and date of issue not given]

[Text] The Presidium of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] held an extraordinary meeting in Kolozsvar [Cluj] on 28 September 1991. At this meeting, the RMDSZ examined the critical political situation and formulated the following basic principles in connection with the government talks:

The new government program should stipulate the following:

1. preventing the restoration of the party state and eliminating the totalitarian structures that hinder the political and economic life;

2. guaranteeing the self-governing of local authorities; guaranteeing the pluralism of radio and television and their independence from government influence; application of legal regulations that do not allow the press to become a means of social and national incitement, lies, slander, and causing disturbances;

3. creating the legal frameworks of national minority rights, including the creation of institutions necessary for the practice of the aforementioned rights, and including the creation of a National Minority Ministry;

4. dealing with public health, education, and culture as outstanding tasks; the new government should urgently submit to the Parliament the cultural and religious bill proposed by the churches;

5. implementing the economic reform on realistic bases, accelerating privatization, and modifying the law on the privatization of trade companies and the land reform;

6. accompanying the economic reform with social measures and using foreign credits to implement such social measures;

7. partially releasing the financial restrictions and preparing and consistently applying the bankruptcy law;

8. dealing with unemployment with adequate means;

9. asserting economic measures aimed at halting inflation: special state subsidies and social and economic forecasts for the preparation of political decisions and the regulation of reform processes.

The RMDSZ Presidium instructed Geza Domokos, Geza Szocs, Dr. Jozsef Csapo, and Gyorgy Tokay to participate in the negotiations aimed at creating a new government by considering the aforementioned principles.

The RMDSZ National Presidium.

Hungarian Youth Party Leader on Events, Situation

AU0210193791 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Oct 91 p 2

["F.Gy."-signed interview with Peter Andras, member of the Alliance of Hungarian Democratic Youth in Romania, on the telephone from Kolozsvar on 30 September: "Was Even This Too Much?"]

[Text] On 30 September, MAGYAR HIRLAP attempted to get information on the prospects of Romania's domestic political situation in the coming days—also considering the fact that the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania would be willing to participate in coalition talks on a possible new government.

While making our telephone calls, we also managed to contact Peter Andras in Kolozsvar [Cluj], who told us his personal opinion. In his view, coalition talks on forming a government are unlikely to take place. The current mood would much rather support the formation of an expert government for a very short period, and the calling of new general elections soon after that:

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Former Prime Minister Petre Roman is making very confident speeches—does this mean that his political career has not come to an end?

[Andras] It is not at all certain that Roman's career has ended, and Iliescu's fate is also uncertain. It is also possible that the National Salvation Front [FSN] will get a majority—or near majority—at the new elections. The FSN is still very popular.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Petre Roman called the Bucharest "action" of the Jiu Valley miners a communist coup. Is that right?

[Andras] We cannot exclude the possibility that it is partly true, because the inconsistent implementation of the reforms equally affected people who had wanted fundamental changes and people for whom even these changes were too much.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Has Bucharest forgiven the Jiu Valley miners? Was the miners' action only caused by economic reasons?

[Andras] Economic reasons played an important role in the case of the miners, but I must note that, as for the political reasons, there is a total lack of interest in Romania. Although—not only in Bucharest—many people marched in support of the miners, the majority of people are completely indifferent toward politics.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What was this event? Was it a second revolution after December 1989?

[Andras] No, perhaps it was not....

PNT-cd Party Congress Elects New Leadership

AU0310210591 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 1 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] The first congress of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd], which took place in Bucharest on 27, 28, and 29 September, established the party's leadership by secret ballot.

The Political Bureau includes the following:

Corneliu Coposu, president; Ion Diaconescu, Valentin Gabrielescu, Ion Ratiu, Gabriel Tepelea, Cicerone Ionitoiu, Ioan Barbus, Ilie Paunescu, Serban Ghica.

Candidate members:

Mircea Ciumara, Gheorghe Rosescu, Ulm Spineanu, Ioan Alexandru, Stefan Mamulea, Razvan Dobrescu, Remus Opris, Constantin Ionescu.

Article Links Neocommunism, Roman Government

AU0310201591 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 28-29 Sep 91 p 1

[Florin Gabriel Marculescu article: "Neocommunism Saved Itself. But For How Long?"]

[Text] The extremely troubled and uncertain situation during the first days of the fourth descent of miners on Bucharest has begun to clarify, and this allows us to get a more coherent interpretation of the events that brought us—again and how many times so far?—to the threshold of fratricidal war. No doubt the miners came to Bucharest because of the material misery in which they—and not only they—are getting deeper every passing day. That is a misery that ultimately opened their eyes and made them understand that the source of evil continues to be communism, no matter the disguise the nomenclatura that is leading the country today would hide behind. The miners called for the resignations of President Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman, convinced that they are the major representatives of the past (and still present) communist structures. Through these structures, we understand both institutions, as well as the persons who are speaking on behalf of those institutions. Could their coming to Bucharest be avoided? Certainly! Neither Iliescu nor Roman wanted to do the simplest thing possible: open a genuine and beneficial social dialogue. They did not want to do it, or maybe they could not do it. Their mentalities and, implicitly, the instinct of the authoritarian leadership, prevents them from starting any democratic opening. These people (and not only these people) are interested—as an absolute priority—only in maintaining power, of which they will never let go by themselves. Otherwise, it would be impossible for them to avoid the risk of being turned over to the judicial bodies.

When faced with the anti-communist wave—a wave that suddenly involved even those whom the current leadership managed to keep under control through violence and atrocities three times so far—Ion Iliescu should have found a solution (maybe worked out a long time ago) that could have satisfied the mobs and would have calmed down the state of revolt for a short while. He resorted, however, to the use of force, toxic gas, and even the use of weapons, and virtually a state of emergency was introduced as early as 26 September, even if the term is not to be found in the text of the official communique. The Army, however, was authorized to make use of their arms (what a resemblance to a similar decision adopted by Ceausescu during a time of complete confusion on the morning of 22 December 1989). Does Iliescu forget, and this makes him resemble his predecessor, that a country cannot be governed under the threat of armored vehicles and bullets?

A second measure taken to ease the situation was to demote the Roman government, a government that could have not survived, in any event, with its notorious incapability of dealing with economic chaos. As a matter of fact, Roman was "sacrificed" for the cause of neocommunism. We can be sure that the establishment of a so-called new "national openness" government will not harm the interests of neocommunism in the least. Representatives of the opposition (parliamentary or extra parliamentary opposition) will no doubt be drawn into the new governmental formula, but in no way will Iliescu let the key positions of government out of his hands—that is, the Army, domestic affairs, finances, foreign affairs and others. The opposition will be given marginal offices, which do not have resounding names at all: culture, environment, territorial administration, religion, and others. We must admit that the opposition is still too weak, much too heterogeneous, and lacking the unity to be able to face strong communist structures. We still have a lot of time to eliminate and dissolve those structures.

The Roman government has fallen; neocommunism has been saved. It has been saved with all its papers in order and again under the shield of an original democracy.

Senate Discusses Intelligence Service Legislation

AU0310203191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1751 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/10/1991—Romania's Senate did not succeed, in its Thursday [3 October] session either, in ending debates by articles on the legislative proposals for the organization and functioning of the Romanian Intelligence Service (SRI). In the beginning the senators showed interest in passing the law as fast as possible taking into account the latest events in Bucharest. During the debates by articles many senators suggested several amendments. Consequently, they agreed upon the articles on the attributions of the permanent military and the civilians of the intelligence service. The differences of opinion on Article 29 referring to the attributions of the SRI personnel and on Article 35 which enables SRI to incorporate conscripts for specific training made the plenum send back the initial texts to the relevant commission for reformulation. The debates on these articles and on those in Chapter Four, (the last in the draft) regarding SRI material insurance will be held next week.

At the end of the session the senate approved of the participation of four senators—three for the National Salvation Front and one for the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania—in the parliamentary commission investigating the economic situation in Jiu Valley and in other coal fields.

Federal

Mesic Calls Brioni Presidency Session for 4 Oct

LD0410144391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Oct (TANJUG)—"The Army has declared a coup and war on Croatia at last night's illegitimate session of the Presidency," Stipe Mesic, president of the Presidency, told a news conference in the Croatian Assembly today. He convened a new Presidency session at Brioni for today. The session will, as he put it, "annul the Belgrade decision." He expressed doubts about whether the Brioni session will have a quorum, but, he said, if it does not have a quorum, it will make it clear that last night's Belgrade attempt was illegitimate.

Four Republics Boycott 3 Oct Presidency Session

LD0310171291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1602 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 3 (TANJUG)—Fierce battles were waged all through the night and this morning in the areas around Vukovar and Dubrovnik, in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, as reported by TANJUG correspondents. Today's session of the Yugoslav Presidency, which was not attended by all its members, was attended by three members of the staff of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia.

The session, which is being held in Belgrade, is devoted to the security situation in the country and is not being attended by Yugoslav Presidency President Stipe Mesic who represents Croatia, Slovenia's Janez Drnovsek, Macedonia's Vasil Tupurkovski and Bogic Bogicevic the Bosnia-Hercegovina representative.

Along with federal presidency members Borisav Jovic from Bia, Branko Kostic of [words indistinct] Bajramovic of the Serbian Province of Kosovo and Jugoslav Kostic of the Serbian Province of Vojvodina, the session is also attended by federal defence minister, General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic, his deputy Admiral Stane Brovet and Chief-of-Staff General Blagoje Adzic.

Acording to this morning's reports by Croatian radio, "two-thirds of the tanks" have been destroyed and members of the Yugoslav People's Army have been "decimated," in the fighting around Vukovar (eatsern Slavonia).

Military sources have denied claims about a great number of casualties, but did not give any detailed information. Fierce battles are being waged in Croatia between Croatian armed formations and the armed Serbian population and the Army units. On the southern parts of Croatia's coastline, battles are being waged in the vicinity of Dubrovnik, although the old part of the city is being spared, according to scant information due to disrupted telephone lines.

However, Croatian radio has accesed the Army of destroying civilian facilioies and historic monuments in Dubrovnik.

In answer to Croatia's violation of the ceasefire, the Naval Command has reimposed the blockade of seven Croatian ports.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, who is currently in Rome to muster support for the Croatian cause from the Italian government and the VAtican, said today that Croatia "would fight to the end against the advancing federal Army forces," and that Croats were prepared to "fight hand-to-hand on their territory."

There persons were killed in a bomb explosion in central Belgrade around two o'clock this morning, but Belgrade Police have ruled out any political motives.

A Belgrade Police statement said that the explosion was an accident, but that it is in some way linked to the war in Yugoslavia since the hand grenade with which the (words indistinct] playing" at a cafe table, "was most probably brought from the front."

Mesic Accuses Serbia, Allies of Staging 'Coup'

AU0410123791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, 3 October—Yugoslav President Stipe Mesic accused Serbia and its three allies of carrying out a coup today, having agreed with leaders of the Federal Army on adopting special powers in order to stop the battles in Croatia, REUTER reports from Zagreb.

In an interview with the British agency's correspondent, Mesic said that this step is illegal because the session was not attended by five members, which is the number needed for a quorum. Branko Kostic did not convene the session, there was no quorum, and not one single decision could be made legally, Mesic said, adding that this is a coup d'etat.

The four members acted in accordance with provisions of the Constitution that allows the Presidency to act without a quorum during a war, Mesic said, but added that this has no validity because war has not been proclaimed. He announced that this was the final blow before the disintegration of Yugoslavia and asked the international community to recognize Croatia and Slovenia as independent states.

Kostic Advocates Final Cease-Fire Attempt

LD0310174991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1718 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—All available resources should be used to prevent the spread of the war to the area of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro and the possible appearance of new crisis centers in the country. This is one of the basic tasks of the SFRY Presidency under conditions of immediate war danger,

SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic told domestic and foreign journalists today.

With the comprehensive support of the EC and the peace conference in The Hague, the Presidency should make one more attempt to persuade the Croatian authorities to observe the cease-fire, including removing the blockade of Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] barracks. If it does not succeed in this, I think the YPA should be used to crush the armed force of Croatian paramilitiary formations and thereby create conditions for seeking a way out of the state crisis by peaceful means, Kostic stressed.

Presidency To Assume Certain Assembly Prerogatives

AU0310171691 Paris AFP in English 1701 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 3 (AFP)—Yugoslavia's collective federal presidency has decided to take over "certain prerogatives" of the federal parliament because of the threat of "imminent war," Vice President Branko Kostic said Thursday on television.

The announcement came as Croatia said it had launched a counter-attack against troops of the federal army, dominated by Serbs, in the east of the breakaway republic. Fighting was also raging on Croatia's Adriatic coast.

Kostic, a Montenegrin, said the presidency's move was because parliament was unable to meet and the federal leadership wanted "to ensure continuity in its work."

Decisions would be taken by a majority of members present at any meeting of the presidency, which is composed of representatives of Yugoslavia's six republics and two autonomous provinces, he said.

Federal Yugoslav President Stipe Mesic, a Croat, has not been attending meetings of the presidency because he refuses to travel to Belgrade, which is the capital of Serbia as well as being the federal capital.

Four of the members of the presidency—the "Serbian bloc"—took part in Thursday's meeting, which was also attended by Defense Minister Veljko Kadijevic, his deputy, Stane Brovet, and armed forces chief of staff Blagoje Adzic.

Presidency Issues Statement on Assumption of Powers

LD0310175791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—A session of the SFRY Presidency was held in Belgrade today presided over by Vice-President Branko Kostic. Also taking part in its work were Federal National Defense Secretary Veljko Kadijevic; Blagoje Adzic, SFRY Armed Forces chief of General Staff; and Stane Brovet, deputy federal national defense secretary.

The SFRY Presidency, it is announced, noted that at its 143d session held on 1 October, the SFRY Presidency examined the political-security situation in the country and unanimously assessed that we face the danger of general civil war and that the country is in a state of immediate war danger, of which the domestic and international public has already been informed in the official statement from that session.

At today's session, the SFRY Presidency assessed that the conditions were therefore appropriate for the SFRY Presidency to work and act in the manner envisaged by the SFRY Constitution in conditions of immediate war danger and in accordance with decision 36 of the SFRY Presidency of 21 November 1984.

In proceeding to the conditions of work for a period of immediate war danger, the SFRY Presidency eliminates the possibility of a blockade of its work and assumes certain powers of the SFRY Assembly, which is unable to meet.

The SFRY Presidency made a decision on the work and the manner of the work, which ensures continuity in the work of the SFRY Presidency under the threat of immediate war danger. According to this decision, the SFRY Presidency will adopt decisions by the majority vote of the present members of the SFRY Presidency. The decision excludes the possibility that the member of the SFRY Presidency from the Republic of Slovenia can command the SFRY Armed Forces, because on 18 July 1991, the SFRY Presidency—in agreement with that Republic—decided to withdraw all Yugoslav People's Army commands, units, and institutions from the territory of the Republic of Slovenia and to release and not to take recruits from that Republic.

Today's session of the SFRY Presidency approved the previous work of the High Command Staff on the implementation of SFRY Presidency decisions regarding mobilizations, and at the same time it adopted a stand that under the conditions of immediate war danger, relevant regulations must be implemented.

The SFRY Presidency noted that there is a firm unity in the leadership of the country's Armed Forces and gave it its full support.

The SFRY Presidency also approved the previous activity of the federal national defense secretary on the implementation of cease-fire agreements, including the Igalo agreement, and the program of future activities stemming from this.

Presidency Supports EC, Against Military Intervention

LD0310181191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1728 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency will observe all obligations undertaken toward

other countries and the international community as a whole, SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic told journalists today.

The Presidency will give full support to the EC observer mission and, if the need arises, to its expansion, but it will resolutely oppose all attempts to send military forces to Yugoslavia. Kostic stressed that the Presidency will treat that as an act of aggression on Yugoslavia.

Kostic said that the Presidency will continue to support The Hague peace conference on Yugoslavia and to undertake measures and activities in the country which will contribute to a peaceful and political solution for a future Yugoslavia or its constituent parts.

Kostic News Conference Statement

LD0310194291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1740 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—The unilateral decisions of Slovenia and Croatia on secession from Yugoslavia are a crude violation of the SFRY Constitution. For more than five months the work of the Federal Assembly has been blocked, and the Federal Executive Council [FEC] has been unable to carry out its functions on the territory of the entire country.

This was noted in a statement at today's news conference in connection with the statement from today's session of the SFRY Presidency by SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic, who was at the same time relay addressing all citizens of Yugoslavia on a direct television relay.

All attempts to unblock the federal institutions, he continued, and create conditions for a peaceful solution to the crisis in the country, even with the help and whole-hearted involvement of the EC, have failed to yield results. In Slovenia and Croatia, contrary to the SFRY Constitution, republican paramilitary formations have been formed, and Croatia has for several months been waging an undeclared war against Yugoslavia.

The agreements on a cease-fire signed several times in Croatia remain without results, Kostic said, even with the involvement of the EC, its observer mission and the efforts being made at the peace conference in The Hague. Instead of ending the armed attacks of their paramilitary formations and lifting the blockade of Army barracks stationed on the territory of Croatia, the Croatian state authorities are persistently attempting to move the fighting to the area of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro and encourage the opening up of new crisis centers in other parts of the country. At the same time, by tightening the blockade of Army barracks in Croatia by cutting off electricity and water, cutting telephone lines, preventing the delivery of food and the transportation of wounded and dead soldiers, and behaving in an extremely inhumane manner toward the families of members of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], the authorities are trying to bring all members of the YPA in barracks in Croatia to a state of psychological and physical exhaustion and force them into unconditional surrender.

Throughout this time the YPA, Kostic stressed, has behaved in an extremely restrained manner, has acted in accordance with the decisions of the Presidency, has not been the first to open fire, nor has it taken offensive action. It has assumed, according to the decisions of the Presidency, the role of buffer zone and of separating the warring sides in the crisis spots in Croatia, and in doing so also acted in the defense of the Serbian nation in Croatia, which is today threatened with a repeat of the genocide of 50 years ago by the bloodthirsty fascist and Ustasha ideologies of the Croatian authorities.

In my opinion, the main goals of the Presidency in these conditions must be the following:

First, (it is necessary) to prevent the spreading of war conflicts, by all available means, to Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro and the flaring up of any new hotbeds of crisis in the country.

Second, while fully supporting the EC and The Hague peace conference, the Presidency should try once again to persuade the Croatian authorities to observe the cease-fire, which implies the deblocking of YPA barracks on the territory of Croatia. Failing this, I think that the YPA should be used to crush the armed force of Croatian paramilitary formations, thus creating conditions for seeking a way out of the state crisis in a peaceful way.

Third, the Presidency will refrain from passing any orders restricting the already achieved level of political democracy, as well as from taking measures which would deny the freely expressed will of the citizens at the past multiparty secret elections in all parts of Yugoslavia.

Fourth, the Presidency will take all necessary measures to protect personal and material property of all citizens in Yugoslavia regardless of their republican, national or religious afiliation.

The Presidency will not use military power to impose its will upon any people, Kostic emphasized. Each people will be able freely to declare itself about its future on the basis of the application of the principle of self-determination, including the right to secession.

The Presidency will fully observe all accepted obligations toward other countries and the international community as a whole. It will give full support to the EC observer mission and, if necessary, to its expansion, but it will resolutely oppose any attempt to send military forces to Yugoslavia. The Presidency will treat such an act, Kostic emphasized, as an act of aggression against Yugoslavia, as the only legitimate and internationally recognized state within its present borders.

The Presidency will continue to extend full support to the peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague and to undertake measures and activities within the country

which will contribute to the finding of political solutions for the future of Yugoslavia and its individual parts in a peaceful manner.

Regarding the conditions of work in the situation of war danger, as well as its basic trends, the Presidency will inform the governments of all countries, members of the United Nations, the United Nations secretary general, the chairman of the EC Council of Ministers, and the chairman of the peace conference in The Hague, confirming the already earlier manifested confidence in them, Kostic declared.

Acting in this way, the Presidency is convinced that this is the only possible way of fulfilling its duty not only toward all our peoples and nationalities and all our citizens but also toward the international community and above all toward Europe, which expects from us that we establish peace and security for our sake and its own. To this end, I have already held talks with the ambassadors of Great Britain and The Netherlands and informed them about this. I asked them to inform their governments and also Lord Carrington and Van den Broek, Branko Kostic said.

As announced at the beginning, due to the burden of work Branko Kostic did not answer journalists' questions but he promised that a new news conference would be held soon.

Kostic Gives Grounds for 3 Oct Presidency Session

AU0410142691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] No one is upset that Yugoslavia has been governed by anarchy for the last few months, that the Constitution has been violated, and that an armed rebellion is under way in Croatia. Now, that the SFRY Presidency wants to put an end to all this, some circles at home and abroad are bothered by it, Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, said among other things in an exclusive interview for Belgrade Radio First Program in response to some commentaries that yesterday's SFRY Presidency decisions represent the introduction of a state of emergency and that their adoption was unconstitutional. Let us listen what Dr. Kostic said about the nature of the decisions adopted by the Presidency yesterday:

[Begins Kostic recording] In the Constitution of Yugoslavia, Article 317, that is to say, Amendment 41, Point 3, it is provided that, I quote: during a state of war or in the event of a direct threat of war, the SFRY Presidency on its own initiative or at the proposal of the Federal Executive Council, may adopt decrees having the force of law on matters that fall under the responsibility of the SFRY Assembly, and may choose, that is to say, appoint or dismiss officials, and so forth. [no closing quotation as heard]

Therefore, the Constitution envisages that in the circumstances of a state of war and the direct threat of war, the SFRY Presidency may carry out these functions as well. At the 1 October SFRY Presidency session where six members of the Presidency were present [Branko Kostic, Borisav Jovic, SFRY Presidency member from Serbia, Jugoslav Kostic, SFRY Presidency member from Vojvodina, Sejdo Bajramovic, SFRY Presidency member from Kosovo, Bogic Bogicevic SFRY Presidency member from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Vasil Tupurkovski, SFRY Presidency member form Macedonia], we unanimously assessed, and the domestic and international public was informed about it, that the country was facing a general civil war and, literally, that Yugoslavia was facing the direct threat of war.

Therefore, the four of us [Branko Kostic, Jugoslav Kostic, Jovic, Bajramovic] held a session yesterday, but the assessment about a direct threat of war was made at the SFRY Presidency session on 1 October, at which six members of the SFRY Presidency were present. If Mr. Tupurkovski and Mr. Bogicevic were frightened by the warnings of Mesic, who is actually trying to block the Presidency's work, and after that [1 October] session failed to appear at the session the next day—Tupurkovski explained that he was ill and that he would stay in hospital, but then I saw him in front of the television cameras yesterday, and Bogicevic demanded that we postpone the session until 3 October, and since nobody informed us that he could not come—then this is obviously a blockade of the [Presidency's] work.

In such circumstances we had no other choice but to—on the basis of the possibility provided for in the Constitution and on the basis of the assessment that the Presidency adopted with six votes and unanimously [at its 1 October session]—assume the conditions of work in a direct threat of war.

There is a decree from 1984 that has not been changed so far. The decree outlines the powers of the SFRY Presidency president in a state of war or under conditions of a direct threat of war, and states, I quote: In the event of a direct threat of war or in the case of a sudden aggression upon our country, the president of the Presidency may order partial mobilization, and, if he assesses that an aggression with radical objectives is in question, he may order general mobilization, [no closing quotation as heard] and so forth. In the case of a direct threat of war, that is to say, during a state of war, he may issue decrees with the force of law whose text has been endorsed by the Presidency, and so forth.

There is a special point contained in this decree that says: the rights and obligations of the SFRY Presidency president outlined in this decree are, if the president is prevented from taking part in sessions or absent for a long period, carried out by the vice president of the SFRY Presidency. [end recording]

Kostic Convening Presidency for 4 Oct Meeting

LD0410104391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1005 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Oct (TANJUG)—Branko Kostic, the vice president of the SFRY Presidency, has convened a session of the SFRY Presidency for 1300 in the Palace of the Federation in Belgrade. This was revealed by the SFRY Presidency's Information Service.

Kostic, the service says, has convened the session on the basis of Article 328, Paragraph Five, of the SFRY Constitution and Article Three on the Standing Orders on the work of the collective head of state.

The session, it was announced, is due to discuss some concrete issues within the Presidency's jurisdiction. The service says that the session will discuss further activities of the SFRY Presidency.

Session Opens in Belgrade

LD0410131191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1240 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Oct (TANJUG)—A session of the SFRY Presidency began at 1300 sharp in Belgrade's Palace of the Federation. This was announced by the Information Service of the SFRY Presidency.

SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic (of Montenegro) is chairing the session. The following are attending the session: Borisav Jovic (of Serbia), Jugoslav Kostic (of Vojvodina), and Sejdo Bajramovic (of Kosovo), as well as Admiral Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense.

As announced, the Presidency is due to consider specific issues within its competency. It will also discuss other Presidency activities.

Kostic Says 'No Question of State Coup'

LD0310212191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1904 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—There is no question of a state coup, SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic told TANJUG tonight in connection with today's session of the collective head of state.

Kostic said: At this moment, when extensive fighting is going on in Yugoslavia, we have—even with great delay—used the constitutional possibility of eliminating the blockade of the Presidency's work, which has occurred due to the obstruction by some of its members.

According to Kostic, by going over to working in conditions of immediate war danger, the Presidency has the possibility of adopting legal provisions on questions that are within the competence of the SFRY Assembly.

Whether the Presidency will adopt any provisions, and which ones, will depend on the circumstances before us, Kostic said, emphasizing that any decision adopted in this way will be submitted to the SFRY Assembly for approval as soon as conditions exist for its convening.

Kostic observed that Article 317 of the SFRY Constitution and Amendment 41 represent the constitutional basis for these moves. He also recalled the assessment of the Presidency session of 1 October about the existence of immediate war danger.

The Presidency vice president refused to comment on the absence of individual members of the collective head of state at today's session. He confirmed, however, that a message has been received from Tupurkovski that he is ill.

Kostic said Drnovsek sent a fax that he was unable to come, while Bogic Bogicevic yesterday asked for the session to be postponed until today, "but today he neither got in touch nor appeared." Mesic did not get in touch, "but yesterday he declared that Yugoslavia no longer existed," Kostic added.

Today before determining the agenda, Kostic said, having in mind that the Supreme Command Headquarters asked for an urgent meeting with the Presidency, it was noted that circumstances existed for going over to the system of working in conditions of immediate war danger.

The transfer to the system of working in these conditions has removed the blockade in the work of the Presidency, regardless of who is present, Branko Kostic said in conclusion.

Presidency Now Operating Under 1984 Guidelines

LD0410032891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0054 GMT 4 Oct 91

[By Julija Bogojeva and Zoran Sekulic]

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 3 (TANJUG)—The manner of work of the Yugoslav Presidency in conditions of an immediate danger of war is regulated by a decision which the collective head of state adopted in November 1984 and which is a state secret.

The Yugoslav Presidency informed the public today that it was now operating in conditions of an immediate danger of war.

The Presidency at its session on October 1 concluded that an "immediate danger of war" existed in the country. Six out of the body's eight members were present at the session, sufficient for a quorum.

Today's Presidency meeting was attended by four of its members and the leadership of the Armed Forces.

General Secretary of the Yugoslav Presidency Anton Stari told TANJUG this evening that "the 1984 decision empowers the president of the Presidency, or the vice

president in the president's absence, to take on his own certain actions which are in the competence of the Presidency."

If during the implementation of the actions listed in the 1984 decision the president or vice president is "unable to establish contact with all the members of the Presidency, he will consult those he has succeeded in contacting," Stari said.

Vice President of the Yugoslav Presidency Branko Kostic said this evening that if any of the Presidency's members were not acquainted with the 1984 decision, "it will be presented to them when they come to Belgrade."

The country's Presidency, Stari said, has not yet decided to make public the contents of the 1984 decision (which was signed by the then Presidency President Veselin Djuranovic). This decision has lain in a safe for all these years, Kostic has confirmed to TANJUG.

The existence of an immediate danger of war is established by the state Presidency on the basis of Article 316 of the Yugoslav Constitution.

According to a constitutional amendment, in the event of an immediate danger of war, the Presidency "enacts regulations with the power of law on questions in the competence of the Yugoslav Assembly." The acts are submitted by the Presidency to the Assembly for ratification as soon as the parliament is able to convene.

Mesic Accuses Serbia, Allies of Staging 'Coup'

AU0410123791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, 3 October—Yugoslav President Stipe Mesic accused Serbia and its three allies of carrying out a coup today, having agreed with leaders of the Federal Army on adopting special powers in order to stop the battles in Croatia, REUTER reports from Zagreb.

In an interview with the British agency's correspondent, Mesic said that this step is illegal because the session was not attended by five members, which is the number needed for a quorum. Branko Kostic did not convene the session, there was no quorum, and not one single decision could be made legally, Mesic said, adding that this is a coup d'etat.

The four members acted in accordance with provisions of the Constitution that allows the Presidency to act without a quorum during a war, Mesic said, but added that this has no validity because war has not been proclaimed. He announced that this was the final blow before the disintegration of Yugoslavia and asked the international community to recognize Croatia and Slovenia as independent states.

Defense Secretary Briefs Citizens, Army on Events

LD0410011791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2231 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, this evening addressed citizens of Yugoslavia and members of the Yugoslav Armed Forces:

"From the very beginning of the crisis in our country, the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] tried to create conditions for its peaceful and demoratic denouement on the basis of the Constitition and federal laws, and through institutions of the system. We have struggled to achieve this goal persistently and patiently until today. In spite of this, events took a completely different course, mainly because of the activity of internal destructive forces, but also because of the significant influence of certain foreign factors that are deeply involved in all that has been happening in our country.

"I believe that no army in the whole world has ever found itself in a less enviable position than ours at any point in history. We have been left without a state and—from what was seen and heard yesterday evening about the session of the Supreme Command held in March—you can see once again, in an obvious way, what sort of person we have for a supreme commander. Some members of the SFRY Presidency consciously prevented the passing of decisions, clearly aiming to break up Yugoslavia by inhibiting and breaking up the Army. They were joined in their perfidious tricks by the federal prime minister. The world has never witnessed such an attitude by a supreme commander and a prime minister toward his own army.

"Deep intranational divisions that took hold of Yugoslav society could not bypass the YPA either. It was only due to the option of generally accepted goals of Army involvement that we have been resisting the internal shocks. As the intranational confrontations became more exacerbated, more of the nationalist-oriented members, chameleons, quasi-politicians and cowards dropped out of the Army ranks.

"In one part of the country, we have been accused of being the occupying forces. The fascist regime in Croatia claims that we have taken one-third of this republic's territory for the benefit of Serbia, while individuals and groups in other parts, blinded by nationalism and ardent desire for power at any cost, have proclaimed us traitors.

"This has not happened by accident. From the movement of mothers to prevent the mobilization of certain units to the use of crude lies about the unity of Army leadership—all this was prepared in the same kitchen. The goal is the same: to break up the YPA. They know that they only have to destroy the Army from within, and they can win the war that they imposed on us.

"What did the YPA want, and what did it really do?

"Acting on the basis of the decision of the SFRY Presidency, our exclusive aim was to engage our main forces in crisis-stricken areas in order to prevent bloody intranational conflicts and make the repetition of genocide against the Serbian people impossible. We sent to these crisis-stricken areas some of our forces from other garrisons in Croatia and other parts of the country, which the Ustasha authorities there used for imposing a several-day long general blockade of the garrisons in other parts of the Republic. They took some of them by force, using measures that had all the characteristics of genocide.

"Neo-Nazism is at large in the Republic of Croatia. At the present moment, it is the biggest threat to the Serbian people in Croatia, but neo-Nazism is also directly opposed to the vital interests of Croatians and all other peoples living on the territory of Yugoslavia.

"At this moment, the Army does not want anything but to establish control over the crisis-stricken areas, to protect the Serbian population from persecution and destruction, and to free the YPA members and their families. The condition for this is the defeat of the Ustasha forces. We remain firm in our stand, many times repeated, that all political questions must be resolved by agreement and by respecting the legitimate rights and interests of all our nations.

"In our efforts to find a way out of the present crisis, we value the well-intentioned help of the European Community and other international factors. However, we must warn that the involvement of any foreign military troops is, for us, absolutely unacceptable.

"The SFRY Presidency confirmed the existence of immediate war danger and gave its support to the measures and actions that the YPA are taking in this situation. The accusations that the chief destroyers of Yugoslavia are launching at the expense of the Army and its leadership—accusing it of allegedly conducting a military coup—are thus refuted in the most direct way.

"Once the existence of immediate war danger is established, all legal norms that apply under such conditions concerning mobilization and other actions in connection with the defense of the country come into effect. Nonetheless, I would like to take this opportunity to call on patriots belonging to all nations and nationalities to carry out their duties of defense against fascism and genocide in these areas."

General Discusses Army Warning to Croatia

AU0310180591 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Oct 91

["Excerpt" of interview with Lieutenant General Marko Negovanovic, assistant federal secretary for national defense, by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The answer given by the Supreme Command to the Croatian Government is brief, clear, and emphatic. It was well-received by people throughout our country. Comrade general, the people expected something like this even earlier. Can you tell us some more about the reasons which led the Supreme Command to make this most recent decision?

[Negovanovic] The warning addressed to the president of the Croatian Republic by the Supreme Command headquarters includes the reasons. The leadership and the armed units of Croatia have totally ignored all cease-fire agreements; they used the truce agreements to concentrate their forces and attack military units, and military barracks and other military installations were subjected to attacks by much greater forces. Instead of ending the blockades on the military units, they intensified them; the military was denied food and water which must be provided even to the prisoners of war by international convention. In fact, this was, and still is, a matter of a special kind of genocide. Numerous impudent crimes were committed in relation to the members of the Yugoslav People's Army. Local people, as well as the rest of the world, are acquainted with some of them. The families of the members of the Yugoslav People's Army are subjected to every kind of harassment, persecution and destruction, and, of course, this can not be tolerated any longer.

I should also remind you, listeners of Radio Belgrade, of the treacherous attack on the barracks in Belovar. Our men there did not give any reason for anyone to attack them. We were informed that there were tens of women and children in the barracks; they came there seeking shelter from the terror to which they had been subjected. All of this did not prevent the criminal Ustashas from attacking the barracks with all they had, using a force many times larger and doing what they did.

When they committed the crimes, that all of you have seen, they did not hesitate to ask for talks about the future of the garrison. Is it really possible to trust the criminals and to have talks with them?

In addition to the other reasons, these are also the reasons why we must use all means and energy to free all our units from the blockades and to protect the Serbian population from the fascist Ustasha forces and the fascist-type Croatian leadership; we should also protect all other honorable and decent people who are threatened by these forces and dark powers.

Envoy: Crisis Due to 'Explosion of Nationalism'

LD0410075491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0639 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Prague, Oct 4 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Ambassador in Prague Stanislav Stojanovic last night said that 'nobody in Yugoslavia is being denied the right either to self-determination or secession,' but that this same right must be guaranteed to the members of all nations.

Speaking at a press conference, Ambassador Stojanovic said that the 'true nature of the Yugoslav crisis lies in an explosion of nationalism intent on destroying Yugoslavia no matter what it is or what it might be and no matter what its regime.'

The thesis that what is happening in Yugoslavia is a clash between communism and democracy is absolutely groundless and is being put forth in order to conceal the true nature of the crisis, Stojanovic said.

He said that the Yugoslav Army 'neither had nor does it have now any ambitions of taking over the role of the political factors in the country. On the contrary, the army has always insisted that it will respect the decisions of the political and constitutional bodies,' Stojanovic said in conclusion.

BORBA Questions Croatian Ability to Build Nuclear Bomb

LD0410133791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1214 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 4 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA writes today that 'the nuclear physicists and chemists of the Boris Kidric Institute in Vinca near Belgrade are divided on whether the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia is capable of building an atom bomb'.

The paper quotes Doctor Tomislav Tasovac as saying that 'it is absolutely impossible'.

On the other hand, Doctor Marko Ninkovic believes that it is technically feasible, that the preconditions exist and that (Croatia) has the necessary experts and equipment, says BORBA.

However, 'the materials are controlled by the International Atomic Energy Agency...and any attempt to build the bomb would be illegal', Doctor Ninkovic adds.

The Yugoslav Army magazine NARODNA ARMIJA says in its latest issue that the Rudjer Boskovic Institute in Zagreb has been commissioned by the Republican Interior Ministry to work, together with South Africa, on preparations for the production of small power nuclear missiles which would be used against the Yugoslav Army and Serbs.

'The Army probably knows the kind of infrastructure and personnel necessary for the production of nuclear weapons', says BORBA.

'It should also be asked if there is a connection between the South African plane which recently landed at an airport in the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia and the story about building an atom bomb', the paper adds.

BORBA recalls that 'not a single Yugoslav state institution has denied a story story published in the German weekly DER SPIEGEL in 1988, which accused Yugoslavia of working on the production of a nuclear bomb for Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi'.

DER SPIEGEL said the research was being conducted at the Rudjer Boskovic Institute in Zagreb.

New Krajina Territorial Defense Leader Approved

LD0410083591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2134 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Knin, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—Lieutenant Colonel General Ilija Djujic is the new commander of the Krajina territorial defense, the Krajina Government President Milan Babic told TANJUG this evening. Col. Dusan Kasum was appointed the chief of the general staff of the Krajina territorial defense. Milan Babic, with the approval of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, made these top appointments in the Krajina defense forces. [passage omitted]

Hungary Bans Nighttime Boat Traffic on Part of Danube

LD0410141891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1339 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Novi Sad, 4 Oct (TANJUG)—A ban on nighttime traffic on a 9-km-long stretch on the Danube between the Yugoslav-Hungarian border and the town of Bezdan [in Vojvodina] is in force. This was stated today by the Novi Sad harbormaster's office.

The ban was introduced on 2 October and applies to all vessels except military ones.

Ships stay in Mohacs, Hungary, overnight, and they can sail towards the Danube estuary during the day.

The reason for the ban was not given.

International

Carrington Meeting Tudjman, Milosevic, Kadijevic

LD0410140291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1154 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, Oct 4 (TANJUG)—The conference on peace for Yugoslavia has convened in a fourth plenary session in The Hague today. The session is attended by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar, five republican foreign ministers and the deputy foreign minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia.

The closed-door session is chaired by Barkman and Corser, assistant chairmen of the conference.

Parallel with the plenary session, the chairman of the conference, Lord Carrington, has opened talks with the presidents of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, and the Yugoslav defence minister, General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic. The Yugoslav officials arrived in The Hague earlier this morning.

The contents of Lord Carrington's talks with the three signatories of the agreement on an absolute ceasefire in the Republic of Croatia concluded on September 17 in the Yugoslav sea-side resort of Igalo with Lord Carrington's mediation, are not known at this time. [sentence as received] According to unofficial reports, the talks are focusing on the chances of establishing a durable casefire.

Government Sends Israel Note on Diplomatic Relations

LD0210134391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1146 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 2 Oct (TANJUG)— The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs has sent a note to the Israeli Government informing it of a decision by the Yugoslav Government to restore diplomatic relations between the SFRY and Israel. In the note, the secretariat expresses its readiness to work to ensure that diplomatic missions at ambassadorial level are opened reciprocally as soon as possible. The belief is expressed at the same time that the Yugoslav Government's decision to restore diplomatic relations will create even more favorable conditions for the faster development of "the already fruitful Yugoslav-Israeli cooperation in many areas".

A reply is now awaited from Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the government in Jerusalem. Israel is expected to accept the offer to restore diplomatic relations which Yugoslavia broke off at the time of the six-day Israeli-Arab war in 1967. [passage omitted]

Croatia

Croatian Government on Expiry of Independence Moratorium

LD0310171791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Oct 91

["Croatian Government statement regarding the expiry of the Brioni moratorium sent to Croatian Assembly President Zarko Domljan on 3 October"]

[Text] The moratorium set by the Brioni Declaration on implementation of the constitutional decision on independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia and the declaration on the proclamation of an independent and sovereign the Republic of Croatia will expire on 7 October 1991. Political initiatives envisaged by the 7 July Brioni agreement—as well as agreements, accords, and international mediation—did not fulfill hopes for a political resolution of the Yugoslav crisis or for ending propaganda and economic and armed aggression waged by the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro and the Yugoslav Army on the Republic of Croatia.

Contrary to expressed wishes and numerous attempts of the Republic of Croatia—and even of the international community—to resolve the crisis through a fair, permanent, and democratic settlement, the aggression on the Republic of Croatia continued. The Republics of Serbia and Montenegro and the Yugoslav Army have been savagely killing the civilian population; destroying villages, towns, public and other buildings; and devastating the Republic of Croatia.

In the meantime, the military coup has abolished the last vestages of the 1974 Constitution. All federal bodies have been dissolved and the SFRY has been destroyed.

The Government of the Republic of Croatia concludes that during the moratorium, the Republic of Croatia observed undertaken obligations under the Brioni Declaration, because it understood the significance of attempts to resolve peacefully and in a democratic way conflicts in a disintegrating Yugoslavia. The Government of the Republic of Croatia assesses that with the expiry of the three-month moratorium, a new legal and political situation will be created for the Republic of Croatia, so that the Government of the Republic of Croatia will—in line with its constitutional powers—undertake necessary measures to implement legal and legitimate decisions of the citizens of the Republic of Croatia expressed in the 19 May referendum and the constitutional Assembly decisons.

In line with Article Two of the constitutional law on changes and supplements to the law on implementation of the Republic of Croatia Constitution, the government will confirm to the Assembly Presidium its stands on publishing laws adopted during the 18-26 June permanent Assembly session. The pace at which these laws should be published will be agreed with the Assembly Presidium.

Signed: Government President Franjo Greguric.

Tudjman: 'No Chance' of Union With Serbia

NC0410092091 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0810 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Cairo, 4 Oct (MENA)—Franjo Tudjman, president of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, has said that in the wake of the current war and all its bloodshed, there is no chance Croatia and Slovenia will remain in any form of union with the Republic of Serbia.

In an exclusive interview with AL-AHKAM published today, Tudjman accused all the political forces in the Republic of Serbia of having the same aims as those of the ruling Socialist Serb Party, which reflects their aims and ambitions to build the great Republic of Serbia. He added that the problem is not only between the Serbs and the Croats, but between the Serbs and the majority of the Yugoslav nationalities, such as Muslims, Slovenes, Albanians, and others.

He criticized former Yugoslav leader Tito for his idealistic belief that it is possible to set up a federal state where each nation maintains its right to self-determination.

Tudjman was one of Tito's generals. But he and Stipe Mesic, the current president of Yugoslavia, were imprisoned by Tito in the early seventies on charges of reviving Croatian jingoism.

The president of the Republic of Croatia threatened that if the EC peace efforts to force the Republic of Serbia and the Federal Yugoslav Army to accept the cease-fire fail, the Republic of Croatia will have no option but to declare a general mobilization and launch an all-out defensive war on all fronts to defeat the Federal Army and the Serb fighters and to win victory.

On Yugoslavia's importance to preserving peace in Europe, Tudjman said Europe has lived long under the illusion that Yugoslavia could be a positive factor in European peace, but this has proved impossible. He added: Yugoslavia was a balancing factor between the superpowers during the cold war, which no longer exists. It seems to us now that sovereign states in Yugoslavia will greatly and effectively contribute to world peace.

Tudjman referred in the interview to the possibilities of achieving positive results from EC efforts to solve the Yugoslav crisis, particularly following the failure of the coup against Soviet President Gorbachev, which has left the Serbs and the Federal Yugoslav Army alone without an ally.

Zagreb Magazine Criticizes U.S. Ambassador

LD0410130991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1056 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, Oct 4 (TANJUG)—The Zagreb weekly VJESNIK U SRIJEDU (VUS) in its latest issue describes as untenable the thesis propagated by U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia Warren Zimmerman according to which the presidents of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Croatia—Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman—are equally responsible for the Yugoslav crisis.

The magazine, published in the Croatian capital Zagreb, goes on to say that "it is immoral to equate the aggressor and the victim," because "Serbia is waging war on everything that is Croatian."

"Many in Europe see the diagnosis of shared responsibility of the Serbian and Croatian leaderships as the beginning of a cure and as the key of a strategy for resolving the Yugoslav crisis," says VUS.

Criticizing these assessments, the magazine stresses that "this is an attempt on the part of Ambassador Zimmerman to justify the poor performance of the U.S. diplomatic apparatus in Central Europe and, to a considerable measure, on the global scale."

VUS also holds as untenable Ambassador Zimmerman's statement that peace in Yugoslavia can be attained by a simultaneous toppling of the presidents of Serbia and Croatia, "because the Milosevic clique may be overthrown by the people in the streets ... But to topple the authorities in Croatia, it is necessary to employ the appropriate electoral and parliamentary procedure."

Ambassador Zimmerman expressed his views on ways out of the Yugoslav crisis at a recent session of the U.S.-Yugoslav economic council.

YPA Issues Ultimatum to Ilok, Area Villages

LD0410123691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1136 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Sid, 4 Oct (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] command in Sid has today sent an ultimatum to the populations of Ilok and surrounding villages to immediately surrender their weapons and other military equipment to the nearest Army authorities.

The ultimatum was sent to the residents of Ilok, Bapska, Sarengrad, Lovas, Mohovo, Sotin, Milklusevci, and Tompojevci, and the deadline for the surrender of weapons is 1600 today.

If the weapons and equipment are not returned by that time, the said villages will be attacked and razed by artillery fire and air action, the YPA command announcement says.

Call to Disband Yugoslav Army Units

LD0410033491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2334 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, October 3 (TANJUG)—Croatian Government on Thursday night called for a peaceful and negotiated disbanding of units, commands and institutions of the Yugoslav People's Army, the republican information ministry announced.

The Croatian radio reported that the Croatian Government assessed that in a few days the "federal organs would lose any legitimacy and legality," and that "Yugoslavia would no longer be a subject of international law, but would remain an international problem."

The Croatian Government believes that "on what used to be Yugoslavia only an inter-state coordination committee could be set up as a legitimate body," a body which would with the "states on this territory, with the necessary help from the international ommunity, launch mutual dissociation."

The Croatian Government understands under dissasociation of the Army that "military facilities, armament and military equipment of the Yugoslav Army in the areas of the republics be placed at the disposal of the republican organs, and possibly, under international supervision."

The Croatian Government, as set out by its information ministry, called on governments of other republics "to

launch on their respective territories peaceful and negotiated disbanding of units, commands and institutions of the Yugoslav Army."

Vinkovci Mayor Asks Men To Report for Duty

LD0310121491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Tihomir Zovak, president of the Vinkovci municipal assembly, has appealed to all able-bodied men from the area encompassing Lipovac, Nijemci, Otok, and Vinkovci to report to the Croatian army units in accordance with the general mobilization declared about 20 days ago. This applies to those men who have transferred their families to safe locations and are now expected to return to defend their homes. Weapons will be distributed to those who do not have them.

The Vinkovci mayor denied rumors that Vinkovci is being evacuated.

Pag Bridge Reportedly Destroyed by Air Attack

LD0410125291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Enemy aircraft fired rockets at Pag bridge today. It has been learned that the bridge has been is destroyed.

Battles Around Dubrovnik Subside

LD0410135291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Excerpts] In Dalmatia, the battles around Dubrovnik have ended after four days of heavy fighting. [passage omitted] Enemy warships have been harrassing the Adriatic highway in an attempt to cut the city off from its Western suburbs. Military aircraft have been in action in the area as well, and have left a trail of forest fires behind them. No casualty reports are available.

North of Dubrovnik, in the Bosnian town of Neum, numerous refugees from the fighting have arrived. According to police authorities in the town, there are around 20 cars full of people which have arrived and are being looked after by the Red Cross.

Poisonous Gas, Cluster Bombs Used Near Zadar

LD0410083291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Report by Lidija Palic]

[Text] Fierce clashes, in which the unscrupulous enemy is using all weapons and methods to drive back Croatian defense forces and civilians, are continuing in Zadar and surrounding areas. Here is Lidija Palic reporting for Croatian Radio from Zadar:

Clashes, which started yesterday, continued throughout the night and especially this morning. Two [Croatian] guardsmen died last night while defending the villages of Sikovo and Vrane. The enemy forces are not making advances in areas held by our side, because our forces are successfully repelling them.

Fresh, unabated aggressions by the unscrupulous enemy erupted this morning. They started attacking the area of Murvica and Brisevo with guns and mortars at 0519 [0419 GMT]. Croatian defense forces are returning fire. Following a short respite, the enemy made its destructive presence felt again.

Just half an hour after sirens signaled the all clear, aircraft of the enemy Air Force pounded our positions in the area of Crno and Dracevac at 0714 [0614 GMT]. We have learned that they dropped cluster bombs, prohibited by international conventions, and bombs containing poisonous gases on Croatian defense forces. We do not yet know which gases were used, but experts, who will identify them soon, are on the spot. The only comforting thing is that Croatian forces, on which gases were thrown, were protected from them.

Last night at the front near Zadar, Croatian defenders destroyed two enemy tanks, one armored personnel carrier and one truck, all manned by crews at the time of destruction.

Following a 30-minute respite, the citizens of Zadar are back in their shelters. It is not certain how long they will have to stay there.

Phosphorous Bombs Used To Start Forest Fires

LD0410132791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] In enemy attacks on the Biograd area, two Croatian guardsmen were killed and two wounded, and damage caused by enemy attacks is reportedly high.

Sources say that phosphorous bombs were used by enemy aircraft to start six forest fires.

Reportage on Tudjman's Visit to Italy

WA0410125891

For reportage on the visit by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to Italy, including reports on his talks with Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis and Senate speaker Giovanni Spadolini, please see the Italy & Vatican City section of the 3 October West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Reportage on Separovic's Visit to Austria

WA0410125091

For reportage on the visit by Croatia's Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic to Austria, including reports on his talks with Austrian President Kurt Waldheim and Foreign Minister Alois Mock, please see the Austria section of the 3 October West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Serbia

'Forceful Alteration' of Vojvodina Populace Viewed

LD0410124891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Report by Novi Sad Radio correspondent Arpad Madarasz]

[Excerpts] The Croatian guardsmen defending Dubrovnik have been given a three-day ultimatum to lay down their arms. Arpad Madarasz, correspondent of Novi Sad Radio, reports:

[Madarasz] [passage omitted] Andras Agoston, president of the Democratic Community of Magyars in Vojvodina, has sent a letter to Slobodan Milosevic, stating that a forceful alteration of the national composition of the population is under way in Vojvodina. For this reason, he asks for the Serbian president's mediation to prevent this.

More than 10,000 Magyars have left this province this year as refugees and not of their own will. Only an insignificant proportion of them fled military call-up. The main reason for their departure is that they are unable to endure the atmosphere of fear and pressure that is increasingly weighing on all Magyardom in Vojvodina.

In the letter, Andras Agoston lists, item by item, the grievances that have befallen the Vojvodina Magyar press, radio, and television, as well as the education system. He then points out that the military propaganda of the Serbian Republic depicts the Magyars as being cowardly, as not being desirable as members of the fifth military column, or even as a group.

Misic Writes Islamic Leader on Djakovica Meeting

AU0410101491 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Stojan Misic, deputy minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Serbia, sent a letter to the president of the Islamic Religious Community for Yugoslavia, Efendi Resi-ul-Ulema [spelling as transliterated] Jakub Selimovski today. In the letter, he expressed his regret that Selimovski participated in the meeting in Djakovica, which was not registered [with the police], as well as his surprise that the organizer of the meeting neglected his legal duty to register the meeting.

If we had been informed about your arrival, we would have undertaken measures to ensure your personal safety. I hope that the bodies of the Djakovica Internal Affairs carried out their duties correctly, the letter by the deputy Serbian interior minister to the president of Islamic Religious Community for Yugoslavia states.

Weekly Says Opposition Parties Gaining Strength

LD0410131691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1142 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 4 (TANJUG)—Leaders of the major opposition parties in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia claim in their statements to the Belgrade weekly NIN that the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) is taking advantage of the situation in Yugoslavia for a reckoning with the opposition and that it proclaims any voice of reason treasonable.

Latest opinion polls show that the opposition parties are losing popularity, notes the weekly.

There are several reasons for the "twilight of the opposition," writes NIN, adding that the opposition leaders cite the state of war as the most important.

According to Vojislav Kostunica, a leader of the influential Democratic Party, the SPS has taken up nationalism as a means of staying in power, thus depriving the opposition of its cheapest weapon.

Leader of the Reformist Party Ivan Djuric believes that the ruling party, aware of the situation of the opposition, hastened to call local elections—which it kept postponing so far—in war time.

Vuk Draskovic, president of the strongest opposition party, the Serbian Renewal Movement, told NIN that the ruling SPS had fenced itself off with war and "proclaims any voice of reason that may be heard treasonable."

Draskovic pointed out that his party would not participate in the local elections because the SPS was already known to be a "sure winner."

Bosnia-Hercegovina

YPA Denies Responsibility for Dubrovnik Damage

LD0410133891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1236 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Oct (TANJUG)—The information service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense announces the following:

"Fighting is continuing in the vicinity of Dubrovnik, instigated and still being incited by the Ustasha formations of Croatia. Justified concern for the fate of the cultural and historical buildings in that city is growing.

"This kind of concern is also shared by the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], which in addition to the preservation of human life is also exceptionally concerned for the preservation of the most valuable parts of human culture and civilization.

"In carrying out military actions, the YPA units are strictly adhering to the principle of not damaging such

buildings. To this end, some buildings have been spared from attacks, even at the cost of human sacrifices on the side of the YPA, since their units were being fired on from these buildings.

"The members of the YPA are doing everything to spare Dubrovnik as a city of inestimable historical and cultural value. At the same time, we have reliable information that Ustasha formations, concealed in the city, particularly foreign mercenaries, to whom Dubrovnik means nothing, are preparing a scenario for its destruction, in order to accuse the YPA of this act of vandalism, which they have already done several times.

"In this way we are alerting the domestic and foreign public to the criminal and destructive intentions of the Ustashas and their hirelings, and are appealing to the citizens of Dubrovnik and others who can help to prevent these monstrous plans.

"Bearing in mind that the Ustasha forces have laid seige to Dubrovnik with significant weapon potential, and that they have taken the entire city and its population hostage, the YPA can no longer bear responsibility for the consequences which can arise from this," the statement to the public of the information service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense says in conclusion.

Statement Rejects Validity of Presidency Session

LD0310220791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1926 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—Today's meeting of the SFRY Presidency can only be treated as a working meeting of members of the Presidency since it was held without a full complement, and at such a meeting no decisions can be taken. For this reason the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency rejects the decisions cited in today's statement from the SFRY Presidency as invalid and not binding.

This is stressed in this evening's statement from the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which met in connection with the session of the SFRY Presidency in which only four members of the SFRY Presidency took part—Borisav Jovic, Branko Kostic, Sejdo Bajramovic, and Jugoslav Kostic.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency member Biljana Plavsic abstained from voting, explaining that she did not know all the facts and the legal situation with regard to the said session of the SFRY Presidency, reports a statement from the information service of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency.

Army Blocks Approaches to Dubrovnik; No Electricity

AU0410090691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] As our correspondent, Radisa Mestorovic, reports from Hercegovina, strong units of the Yugoslav People's Army from the Uzice corps and the Boka Naval Sector liberated and took possession last night of the hinterland of Dubrovnik and the area on the Croatian side of the border with Montenegro.

As we have learned from military sources, units of the Yugoslav People's Army have completely blocked the approaches to Dubrovnik. The town is without electricity and water. The old center of the town has not been damaged.

The units of the Yugoslav People's Army are getting new tank reinforcements, so the decisive battle for total liberation is expected soon. We have learned that the remains of the defeated Croatian forces are deserting. Several groups of members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Guard have been arrested.

The Yugoslav People's Army has stopped its activities in Previaka and, as military sources cite, a mopping up operation is under way.

Macedonia

Gligorov Rejects 'Illegal' Presidency Decisions

LD0310221991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1932 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Skopje, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—"Macedonia does not accept the decisions which certain members of the SFRY Presidency adopted today at a session which was without a quorum, and therefore illegitimate and unconstitutional", stated Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov on the Macedonian Television news program this evening.

SFRY Presidency member Vasil Tupurkovski is of the same opinion and says today's Presidency decisions are "an attempt to introduce a state of war in the country and take over the powers of the Federal Assembly."

Gligorov again called for the continuation of talks between the republics and opposed the use of force. Instead of contrived decisions by illegitimate organizations, it is essential to convene a session of the complete SFRY Presidency, at which the decisions adopted today will be suspended. Gligorov announced that the Macedonian Assembly will evaluate all this tomorrow.

Stressing that he does not endorse the decisions adopted in his name and in the name of the SFRY Presidency, Vasil Tupurkovski said that today's decisions of the Presidency worsen the situation in the country. He said that he was in favor of decisions which contribute to a cessation of the armed conflicts, but that today's decisions radicalize the present situation.

I anticipate condemnation of this act on the part of the Macedonian, Serbian and European democratic public, Tupurkovski said, appealing for the preservation of peace in Macedonia and for that republic to continue efforts for a peaceful solution of the crisis.

Tupurkovski also called for a session of the complete SFRY Presidency and for the holding of a new meeting of the leaders of the Yugoslav republics. Tupurkovski is also in favor of intensifying the peace talks in The Hague and the greater involvement of the United Nations.

According to Tupurkovski, this illegal act of a part of the SFRY Presidency can have no consequences in Macedonia.

Macedonian Refuses To Recognize Presidency Decision

LD0410132491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1121 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Text] Skopje, 4 Oct (TANJUG)— A session of the Macedonian Assembly opened today. The main item on today's agenda is the current political situation in the country. Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency from the Republic of Macedonia, was first to address the Assembly. He said that "yesterday's decision made by a group of members of the SFRY Presidency is an act against national interests, that it runs against the tide of history, and is a deeply anti-European act."

Tupurkovski said that he is not recognizing that decision and expressed the conviction that it will be condemned today by the international community as a usurpation of power. This will discredit Presidency members who made that decision, as well as the republics which they represent. Tupurkovski hinted that this afternoon the United States will issue an official statement saying that it is not recognizing such decisions.